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AMERICAN FRIENDS OF FRANCO SUFFERED A setback last spring when the House of Representatives was forced to back down on the inclusion of Spain among the recipients of E. R. P. But they have not given up hope, and another campaign to rehabilitate Franco diplomatically and financially is being organized. The Madrid government, as Mr. del Vayo reported last week, has sent a strong contingent of lobbyists to the United Nations Assembly in Paris and, it is rumored, the Arab bloc, together with a number of Latin American nations headed by Argentina, is ready to support Spain's admission to the U. N. More important to the Spanish dictator, whose most urgent need is dollars, are the kind words he has just received from two influential American politicians. Former Postmaster-General James A. Farley, in Barcelona on business, declared last week that he favored strengthened relations between Spain and the United States and forecast the early inclusion of Spain among the E. R. P. nations. The same day, Senator Chan Gurney, the North Dakota Republican who heads the Senate Armed Services Committee, paid a friendly call on the Generalissimo accompanied by an imposing retinue consisting of the American Chargé d'Affaires Paul Culbertson, two American major-generals, and a rear-admiral of the United States Navy. According to Mr. del Vayo's report this week on page 390, Franco received the delegation with all the arrogance of a man in a superior bargaining position. Yet Senator Gurney subsequently told the press that he advocated "complete relations between Spain and the other great powers" and that he was convinced "the Spaniards have the moral courage which both Generalissimo Franco and myself would be delighted to see reinstated in all countries of Europe." It would be interesting to know if the official nature of the visiting delegation indicates Administration approval of the Senator's remarks. It is true enough that some Spaniards have plenty of moral and other sorts of courage. They need it to keep up the long fight against fascism while American politicians hob-nob with their dictator.

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OUT OF THE BLUE, LAST WEEK, CAME THE good news that the Massachusetts Board of Education had unanimously lifted the ban on *The Nation* that had existed for four months in the commonwealth's eight teachers' colleges. The ban, readers will remember, was imposed by Patrick J. Sullivan, director of the institutions, who had "read in the newspapers" that *The Nation* "carried anti-Catholic articles." While almost no accounts of the board's action have appeared in the press—particularly the New England press—word has reached us from Boston that the four-hour discussion that led to the revocation of the edict was a dramatic one. The fight against censorship was waged virtually single-handed by Gregory J. Gregory, a vocational counsellor, who had been asked to postpone his battle until "after the elections." Unlike some of his colleagues, however, Mr. Gregory felt that he "had nothing to lose," and that he would "never be able to live with" himself if he did not press the issue. He therefore challenged and successfully out-argued every witness against *The Nation* and freedom of the press. Credit is also due to the Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts, which spearheaded the drive to arouse community sentiment against the ban. In announcing its decision, the board—quite properly stating that it "in no way gives its approval of the contents of the articles [by Paul Blanshard]"—declared its policy is "to support at all times the four fundamental freedoms of the American republic." That is all *The Nation* has ever asked of any educator, and we refer the phrase to Superintendent of Schools William Jansen of New York City.

*

THE ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION APPEARS to have placed Philip Murray in a most unenviable position. Only a few weeks ago, his lieutenant, James B. Carey, testified before a Congressional committee that the leadership of the C. I. O. United Electrical Workers was Communist and that on certain issues the union acted as a Communist "front." Now, the Atomic Energy Commission has forbidden two of its contractors to recognize either the U. E. or the United Public Workers, another C. I. O. affiliate, as a bargaining agent for workers in atomic plants. The commission's action, of course, was not based solely on Carey's testimony, but on other information and on the refusal of the unions' officers to sign the non-Communist oath required under the Taft-Hartley act. There is no question of Murray's complete opposition to the Communists, but the fact is that as head of the United Steel Workers he, too, has refused to sign the oath. What is far more important, he doubtless realizes the grave danger that lies in the precedent that has been set. If the Atomic Energy Commission can bar these two unions from plants for which it is responsible,

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• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS
The Shape of Things 385
Issues and Platitudes 387
Defense and E. R. P. 388
The British Miss the Tide 389

ARTICLES
Mistakes and Prospects in Paris *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 390
What Will War Cost? *by Thomas Sancton* 391
Cartoon: Up the Garden Path—and Out *by David Low* 392
Politics and People: Tour of the Border Country. I. West Virginia *by Robert Bendiner* 393
Death of Zhdanov *by Alexander Werth* 395
"Harry Don't Fight Orthodox" *by Robert G. Spivack* 396
Murray Would Be Missed *by Joseph Kinsey Howard* 397
Inflation, Depression, and Rearmament *by Fritz Sternberg* 399
Inside Franco's Domain *by A. W. Sheppard* 401

BOOKS AND ARTS
Appeasement: Its Uses and Abuses *by Keith Hutchison* 404
Albert Camus *by René Blanc-Roos* 404
Greece Today *by L. S. Stavrianos* 406
Personal History *by Franz Hoellering* 407
Fiction in Review *by Diana Trilling* 409
Drama *by Joseph Wood Krutch* 410
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 410

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 411

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 282 *by Frank W. Lewis* 412

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then the army, the navy, and other agencies can take similar action against unions alleged to be Communist-dominated in any industry that is engaged in defense work. We can appreciate the extreme caution which the Commission's chairman, David E. Lilienthal, feels obliged to exercise without believing that he has hit on a formula that is either safe or effective. In a sense, he, also, is caught up in a dilemma that will not disappear until the country, through its courts, has decided once and for all whether the Communist Party is a legal political entity or a subversive agency beyond the law. We can hardly go on treating it as both. ✶

MR. TRUMAN'S ADMINISTRATION, WHOSE battle against the Republicans on loyalty inquiries does not obscure the fact that some of the most unfair and ludicrous loyalty-check procedure has been established by Mr. Truman's own Attorney General, would seem to have caught a Tartar in the person of James Kutcher of Newark, New Jersey. Mr. Kutcher, who had both his legs blown off by a German mortar shell in Italy, was recently dismissed from his job in the Veterans Administration because he is a member of the Socialist Workers Party, which Tom Clark included on his blacklist of some 400 "subversive" organizations. The Socialist Workers are Trotskyites, few in number albeit scrappy and articulate. They are not fond of Stalinist Russia, nor, they state, do they believe in overthrowing the United States government by force and violence. Mr. Kutcher, after a futile closed hearing before a loyalty review board in Philadelphia, has appealed to Mr. Clark and to the President for reinstatement in his job and for the clearing of his party's good name. From the beginning, Kutcher has "proudly affirmed" his membership in the Socialist Workers; while considering "the entire procedure involved in [loyalty] hearings as illegal and unconstitutional," he has complied with all its demands. Mr. Clark granted him an audience last week and, though assuring the veteran that his case would be carefully looked into, maintained that it was impossible to grant public hearings to all—and therefore presumably any—so-called "subversives." We have a feeling that this almost perfect test case will not end there: Mr. Kutcher is obviously a fighter, and he has received strong support to date from the C. I. O., the A. V. C., and, among others, Eleanor Roosevelt, Bill Mauldin, Merle Miller, and Harold Russell, the disabled veteran of "The Best Years of Our Lives." ✶

JOINT DEFENSE PLANS AGREED UPON LAST week by the defense ministers of Britain, France, Holland, Belgium, and Luxemburg have already been badly snagged by French opposition. This came into the open following the premature announcement of the appointment of Field Marshall Montgomery as commander of

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the common defense organization of the five powers. The French suspicion, immediately voiced by General de Gaulle, is that with English influence predominant at defense headquarters, Continental Europe will be treated as an expendable advance post and efforts concentrated on maintaining the security of the British Isles. Another important element in the situation is the French desire for something more than a platonic American interest in the organization. Paris would like a definite commitment of American military support for Western Europe made manifest by the appointment of an American general to the command of its combined forces. Only thus, it is suggested, could a French government offset the opposition, on the one hand, of the Gaullists to present plans, and, on the other, of the Communists to any form of Western Union. In view of the Senate resolution last summer approving "association of the United States . . . with such regional and other collective arrangements as are based on continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid," an American treaty of mutual consent with Western Eroupe should not encounter an insuperable political obstacle in this country. Moreover, as long as we maintain an army in Europe, any conflict there is bound to involve us. That being the case, the French certainly have logic on their side when they call for formal rather than informal American participation in the defense council of the Western group of nations.

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THE THOMAS COMMITTEE, IN ITS REPORT emerging from the secret hearings on Russian spying, has called on the Attorney General to prosecute certain individuals, whose reputations are thus assailed in sensational headlines. The Attorney General replies that it is unconstitutional for Congress to give him orders in the performance of his duty and that the much heralded report contains "absolutely no competent proof" that the named persons gave, or planned to give, any defense information to the Russians. Careful reading of the report will confirm this judgment in the mind of any person able to weigh evidence. All the information available to the committee was previously in the hands of the Department of Justice, and was not found sufficient to warrant prosecution. What the committee has done—once again—is therefore to condemn in the press, without competent evidence, and without affording the victims the elements of a fair trial, persons who not only could not be convicted in court of any violation of the Espionage Act, but who could not even be indicted for such a crime by a grand jury. It has done this without hesitation in order to influence the election returns. If any more flagrant offense against American rights and the ordinary decencies of fair play has been committed by any group of men elevated to responsible positions in our government, we do not know what it is.

Issues and Platitudes

READING and hearing the speeches of Messrs. Truman and Dewey, we find it increasingly hard to think of them as candidates for the same office in the same land. Far from meeting on any common ground of debate, they go their separate ways, and speak their different languages, each scorning to address himself to the issues that his rival regards, or pretends to regard, as crucial.

Serenely confident of victory, Dewey has already wrapped the dignity of office about him, discarding the vulgarity of the campaigner for the Olympian detachment of the national leader. Not for him to mention Mr. Truman's name in his speeches, or even to notice him by criticism. He has soared above the plane of charge and counter-charge, and come upon that rarefied atmosphere where only the noblest platitudes are to be found: "We will build in this country a sense of fair play and of unity and give and take which can increase our productivity, increase the internal peace within the country with a government which believes in our people and which has absolute faith in them and in the freedom by which this country was built."

None of this soothing syrup for Mr. Truman. His only hope is to provoke his opponent into shaking off that maddening aloofness, and to excite the voters into going to the polls. The Republicans, he said scornfully last week, "want to talk about home and mother and what a beautiful country this is." He would dearly love to "smoke 'em out," to make Dewey define the "unity" that he dwells on so fondly. He would like to hear the Governor square such airy pledges as his promise to cut government spending with his equally earnest promise to "press forward in all services vital to an expanded, more secure agriculture, including reclamation, drainage, soil conservation, and flood control"—and do it while reducing taxes. But while Truman's strategy may be refreshing and honest, his execution is undeniably on the wild side. We doubt that a President of the United States helps his cause by referring to the Martin-Halleck-Taber cabal as "predatory animals," by slyly raising the question of Dewey's war record, and by depicting his opponents as willing servants of men who would "tear the country apart" to satisfy their greed, "gluttons of privilege" and "bloodsuckers with offices in Wall Street."

Nevertheless, it is impossible to review the conduct of the Eightieth Congress, with its shameless catering to the lobbyists—real estate, cattle, and oil in particular—without granting that Mr. Truman put his finger on a sore spot when he raised the slogan "The People Versus Special Privilege." And it it impossible to blink the fact that Governor Dewey's "high-level platitudes," as Truman calls them, "are accompanied by all-out support for

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such antediluvian candidates for the Senate as Dworshak of Idaho, Robertson of Wyoming, Brooks of Illinois, Ball of Minnesota, and Reece of Tennessee, all of whom live up to the gaudiest epithets tossed off by the President and his speech-writers.

Out of the growing Niagara of words, two pronouncements so far appear to us outstanding. One was the intelligent speech on communism that Truman delivered in Oklahoma City, in which he sought to damp down the flames of hysteria now being fanned by the Thomas Committee. The President calmly refuted the "intemperate and unjustified" attacks on our atomic scientists, made a spirited defense of the civil service, showed how the committee had in fact "impeded" genuine efforts to deal with the problem of loyalty, and, above all, demonstrated that the Communists have much more to gain from reaction and economic chaos than from the social approach of the New Deal. That is brave talk in Oklahoma.

The other noteworthy statement was Dewey's assurance to the people of Phoenix that "atomic progress cannot continue to be" entrusted to that "dead hand of government" which actually brought it to its first fruition. It must be subjected instead to the "initiative and skill" of private enterprise. Aside from war or peace, we can think of no issue in the years ahead that will loom larger than this: Is the split atom to be regarded as the most basic of all public resources—the key to an era of plenty—or the source of incalculable power and profit for a new group of "special privilege"? Mr. Dewey has stated his choice.

Defense and E.R.P.

IT IS frequently said that the two main essentials of Western policy in Europe are to maintain a firm stand against possible further Russian aggression and to proceed as rapidly as possible with economic recovery under the Marshall Plan. The Berlin crisis has now led to unification of military planning by the nations of the "Western Union"—the Benelux countries, Britain and France —and the beginning of a rearmament program. But how will this affect the Marshall Plan?

When the United States began to rearm in 1940, this country had millions of unemployed workers and large quantities of idle factories and machinery. In one sense, the spending of huge amounts by government for armament brought about a striking economic recovery. No such situation exists now on either side of the Atlantic. Britain and Western Europe do not have enough workers, or enough machinery and factories, to sustain their populations at a standard as high as before the war while exporting what is necessary to buy required food and raw materials from abroad. The spending of additional money by the governments is exactly what is not needed to restore economic health, since the nations are already suffering from inflation, active or latent. Recovery for post-war Europe means, not less unemployment, but more goods for civilian consumption and a balance in international trade.

Now, Britain has been forced to halt demobilization of the still remaining military forces. This means fewer producers for industry, mines, and farms. England is taking its navy out of storage and stepping up the manufacture of munitions. Since the national economy was already being strained to turn out extra goods of peace, all this leads to slower progress than could otherwise be hoped for in the recovery program. To have to rearm at this juncture is a heavy burden indeed, which the government has assumed only with the utmost reluctance. The same principles apply to rearmament in France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxemburg.

The United States, it is hinted, will be relied upon to supply a good many of the military essentials. There may be a revival of lend-lease. In this way, the nations of Western Europe could obtain the tools of war without further increasing their dollar obligations for the necessary materials. Such a plan, desirable though it may be under the circumstances, would not avoid the drain on manpower for the European armed services and armament industries. And there is a danger that the restoration of lend-lease would again increase European dependence on goods from across the Atlantic just at the moment when a good start had been made at effectuating the plan for economic self-reliance. How, when stark military necessity commands, is one to distinguish between food required for the civilian workers and that consumed by soldiers and sailors, or between steel to be used for merchant ships, railroads, and machinery and that for guns and tanks? Will it be possible to be severely economical with the imported supplies and at the same time to be sufficiently generous with the munitions? The world has just learned that a modern military economy adequate for a major war is a total economy, to which all other interests and aims must be sacrificed. It was already touch-and-go whether the Marshall Plan would succeed. A really serious effort to prepare Western Europe for a possible war could engulf the plan in a tidal wave.

And what of the United States? Already, the increased expenditure on our own armament is making any anti-inflation program more difficult; to equip the armies of Europe would redouble the upward pressure on prices, unless severe rationing and price control were to be restored. One of the chief dangers to the Marshall Plan was the adverse terms of trade for Britain resulting from American inflation. Still higher prices would reduce still further the value of the dollars appropriated for European recovery.

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The Marshall Plan rests heavily on the assumption that something like the pre-war trade between Eastern and Western Europe can be renewed. Increased hostility dims this hope. And as long as Russia is on the warpath, Communist troubles in far-eastern colonies will be redoubled; their dollar-earning exports will in consequence be more difficult to restore.

Russia, by stimulating Western rearmament, can deal the Marshall Plan a probably fatal blow. The Communists contend that the plan would bind the countries of Western Europe to the United States—though it is designed to make them economically independent. But a Western war economy would weld Europe and the United States together with scarcely a seam. And it would indefinitely postpone the collapse into unemployment on which Communist doctrine counts for its final victory.

The British Miss the Tide

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

IT IS now apparent that the Bernadotte plan will not be swept through the General Assembly on the high tide of feeling created by the Count's murder. The mood has changed, in Paris and in America. The Palestine issue has been placed third on the agenda, and correspondents are hinting that the real fight may not get under way for a month. This means that the British attempt to lay down an ultimatum has already failed. We may expect a strategic retreat by Secretary Marshall, who will soon find his post at Mr. Bevin's right hand uncomfortably exposed. Time will also make possible a serious attack on those provisions of the plan that unjustly penalize the state of Israel and that the British tried to sanctify as unalterable parts of Bernadotte's last will and testament.

Nothing now can prevent the world from recalling the fact that the Bernadotte proposals regarding Haifa and, more particularly, the Negev are nothing more than a revival of a plan Mr. Bevin has been trying to put over since last September. Viewed against this background, they take on a rather shopworn, tawdry appearance. Let us look at their history.

The British first tried to prevent inclusion of the Negev in the Jewish state when the partition plan was being debated in the United Nations a year ago. They failed, and the resolution of November 29 awarded the southern desert triangle to the Jews. Then, for almost two months, the American State Department did its best to induce the Jewish Agency to sacrifice the Negev. This attempt also failed, but the British did not give up. They backed the Arab rebellion against partition; they worked to defeat partition in the extraordinary session of the General Assembly; and when neither scheme succeeded, they forced through the Security Council, on May 29, a resolution imposing an arms embargo on the Jews as well as on the Arabs, who were then invading Palestine from three directions. In these maneuvers, the British were actively abetted by the State Department, which early in June secretly put out feelers to the Israeli representatives, offering de jure recognition in return for the cession of territory in the Negev. The President was told of this attempt and stopped it.

But at the same time, the British at Lake Success and Count Bernadotte in Palestine were pressing similar proposals. Harold Beeley, Bevin's alter ego, specifically offered to recognize the Israeli government provided it, in turn, would agree (1) to recognize Abdullah as king of an enlarged state including Transjordan and Arab Palestine, (2) to cede Jerusalem to Abdullah, (3) to turn over the Negev to Abdullah, and (4) to grant port rights to Abdullah at Haifa. This remarkable offer was rejected by the hard-pressed Israeli.

British desires are based on several clear-cut strategic considerations. The plan incorporated by Bernadotte in his report would give Britain, through its control of Transjordan, a secure corridor from its present bases there and in Iraq to Gaza and the Mediterranean. It would give Britain control of Aqaba, opening a direct route from the new British military establishment in Kenya to the Mediterranean and to the Iraq and Transjordan bases. The British could also carry out their earlier plan to open a route from Rafa on the Palestine-Egyption border, where a large British military post is located, through Gaza and Beersheba to the port of Aqaba, and from Aqaba to the Red Sea, the Gulf of Aden, and the Indian Ocean. It is easy to see why the British want Transjordan to have the Negev.

But it is also clear that we are not entitled to regard the Bernadotte proposals as either sacred or impartial. The Jews are being asked to sacrifice their future and two-thirds of their meager territory so that Britain can maintain its strangle-hold on the Middle East. This they will certainly not do unless they are forced to. Is the State Department prepared to impose the unjust provisions of the report by force of arms? If so, will American public opinion support such action? One has only to ask the question to realize how fantastic the idea is. If Mr. Truman has the faintest sense of political realism, he will oblige Secretary Marshall to change his tune in Paris, especially since the Republicans have already given notice that they do not consider themselves bound by his stand on the Bernadotte proposals.

Miss Kirchwey, recently returned from a trip to Europe and Israel, is now at work on a series of articles on her journey. The first of them will appear in an early issue.

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Mistakes and Prospects in Paris

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, October 1

WITH the close of the general debate, the calm of working days has returned to the Palais de Chaillot, after a feverish and spectacular week. The various commissions are getting down to business, the Political Commission turning over and over the problem of the control of atomic energy.

The general debate was marked in its final phase by only two major speeches—those of Prime Minister Spaak of Belgium and Foreign Minister Kardelj of Yugoslavia. For days it had been whispered in the corridors that the Belgian statesman was planning to reserve for himself the role of mediator between the opposing blocs. This would have been a big role, very tempting and much needed. But by the time he spoke many things had happened: Schuman, Bevin, and Marshall had issued their communiqué, and the Russians had replied. The decision of the three Western powers to bring the Berlin affair before the Security Council could not fail to influence a politician so ready to readjust himself to reality. An eloquent orator, with a habit of departing from his prepared text, Spaak was carried away by the prevailing mood; somewhere in mid-stream he switched from mediation to melodramatic reproaches against the Russians, canceling out much of the constructive part of his intervention. His speech was received in absolute silence on the benches of the Eastern delegations. A mediator had been born and had died almost in the same minute.

The address of Kardelj was interesting for its unconditional, indeed vehement support of Vishinsky's proposals on disarmament and for its obvious hints that Yugoslavia would be happy to settle its differences with Russia. He argued effectively with Bevin on the proper interpretation of Lenin's stand on the possibility of the peaceful coexistence of Communist and capitalist states. Kardelj said that what Lenin meant was that capitalist states would try again and again in the area of international politics to make a Russian Socialist victory as difficult as possible. When the Yugoslav Foreign Minister had finished, the eyes of all delegates turned to the Soviet benches; Vishinsky and the rest of the Russian delegation were applauding.

One might have expected that in the more peaceful atmosphere of the committees animosities would give way to a new spirit of cooperation. Not at all. When Malik of Russia proposed Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Klementis as vice-president of the Political Commission, France took the initiative—unusual for this country—of putting forward as its candidate the Bolivian, Costa du Rels, who was subsequently elected; thus Bolivia won a quick reward for having, the same morning, advocated before the Assembly the admission of Franco Spain to specialized United Nations agencies—an action that would nullify the U. N. resolutions of 1946 and 1947. Another and more modest attempt by the East to have one of its representatives named to a committee post similarly failed: the Greek delegate, Spiropoulos, defeated Dr. Lacks of Poland, by thirty-five to fifteen, in the nomination of a mere rapporteur for the Juridical Commission. The general objective was evidently to make the Russians angry, but one Soviet delegate told me, "We will not quit, no matter how far they go."

Perhaps the Russians are encouraged by the great change that has taken place in the last few days, in the anticipation of possible developments in the Security Council. On Monday the common expectation was that the Council would throw the book at Russia—a terrific resolution that would oblige the Soviets either to yield or to go back to Moscow. The next day all the talk was about economic sanctions. On Wednesday it was limited to moral sanctions. At this moment the predictions are infinitely more restrained, indicating a decision that, instead of condemning the Soviet Union, would instead "urge a resumption of contact."

The difficulties confronting the Security Council were brilliantly anticipated on Monday by Pertinax writing in *France-Soir*. "Whoever has seen the Security Council at work in the thirty months of its existence," he wrote, "will doubt the wisdom of this démarche. The Security Council is incapable of action unless the five great powers represented on it are unanimous. Of course, when the matter before it is the peaceful settlement of differences, the parties to the dispute are compelled to abstain from voting, and therefore in the affair which at present occupies us the veto can play no part. . . . But since a former enemy state, Germany, is the cause [of this affair], the Soviet Union can find articles in the Charter that permit it to contest the competence of the Council. In any case the United Nations, so weak, so precarious, is going to suffer a terrible shock. One can predict: either the three powers' recourse to the Council will get lost in the sands of procedure or they will form an anti-Soviet coalition outside the framework of the U. N. . . ."

No matter how fantastic and pretentious it may sound, I continue to suggest that the belief that a compromise may one day be achieved on Berlin, and then on Germany as a whole, is not yet mere wishful thinking.

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Paris, October 4

EVERY Monday morning The United Nations has its excitement. Last Monday it was the Berlin affair; this Monday it is a smaller bombshell, but it has given rise to innumerable comments: a fascist dictator has taken the offensive and is demanding nothing less, as a price for granting bases to the Western powers, than entry into the U. N., Marshall Plan aid, and full diplomatic recognition. The Continental edition of the *Daily Mail* scoops the press with the details of a meeting of Senator Gurney and his military advisers with Franco. According to its Madrid correspondent, Franco harangued the Americans for half an hour. Apparently he treated his visitors very much in the style of a dictator and took the attitude, not of a person who humbly hopes to be admitted to the U. N., but of one who considers himself the best asset America could have in its plans against Russia and who is therefore in a position to make insolent demands. In spite of Washington's denials that American policy on Spain has changed, people in the corridors of the Palais de Chaillot commented acidly, "It was bad enough before. . . ." Speculation about a Washington-Madrid pact does not cease. Yesterday's London *Daily Express* reports that a pact is a certainty. American leftists will be interested to hear that the Washington correspondent of the *Daily Mail* in a dispatch dated Saturday wrote, "Even officials in Washington are amazed at the little reaction the news has produced in American leftist circles, formerly so easily aroused about Spain."

What Will War Cost?

BY THOMAS SANCTON

FOR millions of civilian Americans the last war was a great and profitable venture. Its cost in casualties was relatively low, everybody on the home front had a job, and wage and profit levels dimmed depression memories of insecurity and privation to a half-remembered dream. Boom towns sprang up overnight, and Main Street merchants turned over their huge inventories of food and clothing at the frenzied pace of the carnival midways which could so often be found at the outskirts of town. The therapy of usefulness reduced the class of unemployables to the vanishing point.

Today there is discernible in millions of Americans—though they vehemently deny the fact—a certain longing for a return to war-time conditions. At almost any lunch counter or newspaper stand one may overhear office workers and laborers, on whom the real cost ultimately falls most heavily, expressing a light-hearted willingness to have a brand-new war to live through all over again. Many a war enthusiast of course has other motives—stemming from political or patriotic emotions or personal psychological quirks—and upon the logic or moral justification of these attitudes our future fortunes as a nation will cast a final judgment. But so far as popular militarism is based on an assumption that we can and will fight the last war all over again in an economic sense, it is based upon illusion, for all our potentials for another luxury war have been exhausted. Another war of the same magnitude must inevitably impose austerity conditions on the American economy.

When the European war began in 1939, the United States was beset with depression-era surpluses in almost every field, including a surplus of 9,400,000 men looking for work. In a very short time these flaws in a peace-time economy became tremendous war-making potentials. Their greatest importance lay in the fact that they provided areas for greatly expanded production and thus permitted a peace-time economy to convert into a war plant without a disruptive fundamental reorganization.

The work week in industry averaged only 37.7 hours, offering the opportunity for over-time expansion. The Federal Reserve index of production revealed that national output in 1939 was only ten points over the low 1935-39 average. The national debt stood at forty billion dollars—a figure which left vast reservoirs of national credit for war finance.

By 1944 these potentials had been exploited with material results unprecedented in history. The total national output had been raised by 75 per cent. One-half of this went to military consumption, but the total increase had been sufficient to permit a 25 per cent increase in consumer goods available for civilians. Durable goods were off the market; but shortages which developed in items like food and clothing resulted from enhanced demand and purchasing power rather than short supply. War-time taxes were high in comparison with peace-time rates, but they were low in comparison with earnings, and low in comparison with the pay-as-you-go taxation of England and Europe. Workers were given large incentive payments and a high living standard.

Today the United States lacks its 1939 potentials for expansion. The employed force has risen above 61,000,000, highest level in history, and the unemployment reserve stands at only 2,000,000. Current production is at a rate 60 per cent above the pre-war level, and not far below the war peak. Oil and many other strategic reserves have been drastically depleted in the war decade.

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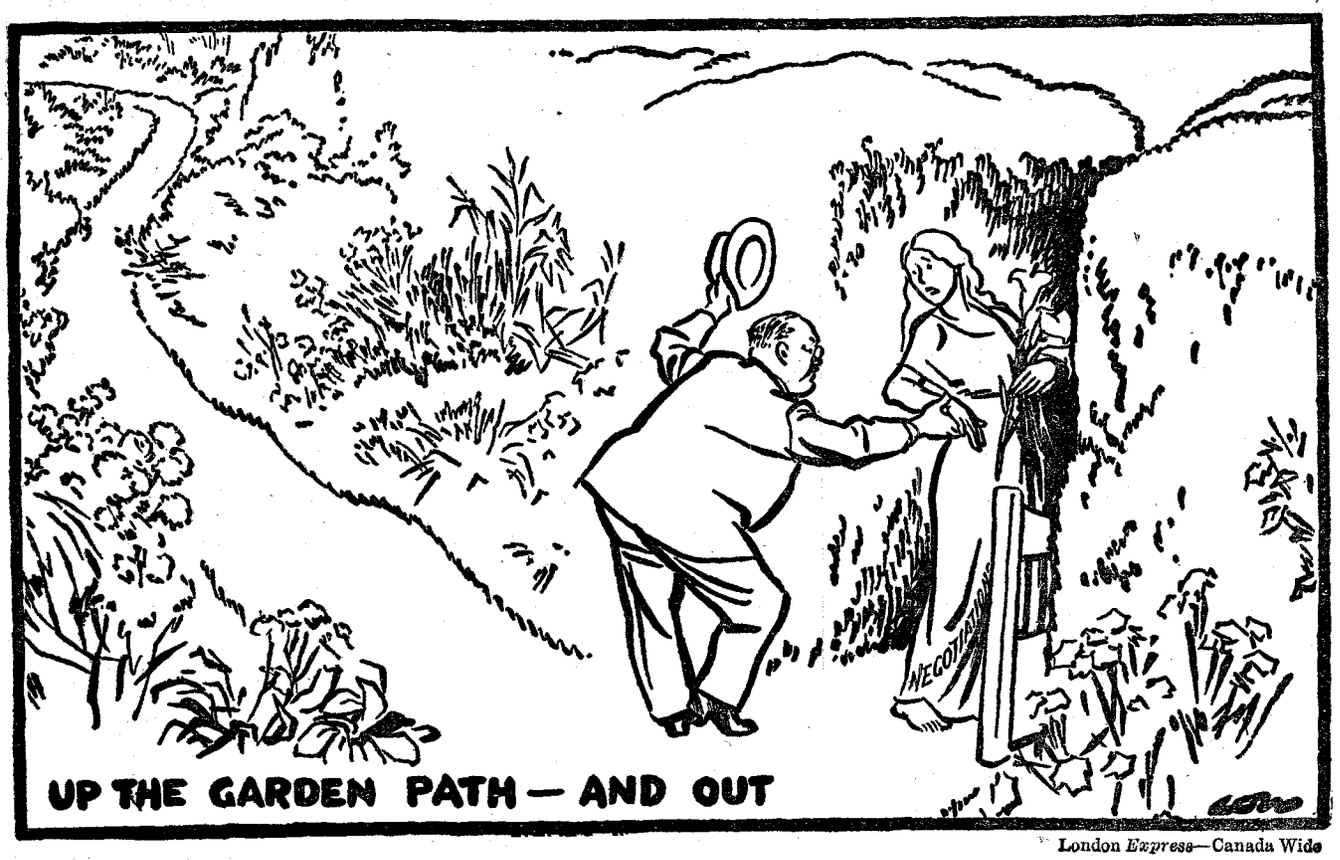
Bumper grain and cotton crops have ended a period of shortages, but no surpluses have been accumulated comparable to those which existed at the beginning of the war. Foreign assistance programs and United States occupation forces draw heavily upon farm and industrial production. The national industrial plant consequently is running already at near capacity, and only a limited expansion would be possible this time in the event of war. Instead of creating a 25 per cent increase in consumer items for civilians, our production could not meet military requirements without cutting drastically into civilian supplies, and some government economists privately estimate that another war would require a 20 per cent lowering of the standard of living.

Today the national debt stands at $252,000,000,000, and the annual service charge on this—$5,300,000,000—dwarfs the total New Deal budget of $3,800,000,000 in 1933. The 1948 budget of $42,200,000,000 is greater than the pre-war national debt, and 80 per cent of this budget is earmarked for military production, foreign programs, veterans' pensions, and other costs resulting directly from the last war. Moreover, tomorrow's war will not be fought at yesterday's prices. It is estimated that another war comparable to the last would cost not $380,000,000,000, but well over $500,000,000,000.

In a future war the anticipated shortages of consumer goods would create a black-market problem and general inflationary bidding for scarce items that would require more stringent controls than in the last war. This short supply of goods, combined with the astronomical expansion of the war debt, would make imperative a drastic tax rate on earnings and salaries. Some economists take for granted that a future war carried on without the fortuitous advantages we enjoyed in the past would require the quick imposition of National Service regimentation for civilians. No politicians have even hinted at this so far in public discussions. But recent speeches by Secretary Forrestal and Governor Dewey have taken cognizance of the fact that an increased rate of military expenditures might result in the eventual reimposition of war-time economic controls.

There are many responsible economists in Washington who feel that—barring additional inflationary military spending—the present high level of prosperity might prove to be self-stabilizing somewhere near the present peak, and that production of civilian items is already beginning to check the upward movement of prices. Their optimism is based chiefly on the decline of prices in several component items of the industrial wholesale price index, and a "decrease in the rate of increase" of all items on the index. These prices as a whole went up only half as much in the first eight months of 1948 as in the second half of 1947. The February break in grain prices seems to have had a general retarding influence.

However, if international developments transform E. R. P. from a program of rehabilitation of civilian economies into a super lend-lease activity, a vast inflationary pressure would be exerted on United States industry. This metamorphosis of E. R. P. would undoubtedly help speed the final conversion of a free American economy into the austere and Spartan institution it seems destined to become in the event of another period of war.



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POLITICS AND PEOPLE

Tour of the Border Country

BY ROBERT BENDINER

FOR the purpose of taking soundings on the coming elections a swing through this sector of the country might not on first consideration seem particularly strategic. A diagonal strip embracing West Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, it yields four electoral votes less than the single state of Pennsylvania. Yet not only do its borderland politics provide a more sensitive barometer of national feeling than sections of greater political stability, but it is almost certain this year to determine the complexion of the United States Senate. Of the four seats the Democrats need in order to capture that body, two are within their grasp in West Virginia and Kentucky, while Tennessee offers the Republicans a somewhat less likely chance to gain a normally Democratic seat through the bitterness of a defeated city boss and the machinations of the Dixiecrats. Reports on these states will appear in this and succeeding columns.

I. West Virginia

Charleston

WHAT no politician can afford to forget for a moment in this state is the United Mine Workers of America. One has only to make the round of its district headquarters, particularly the Kanawha Boulevard mansion that serves District 17 in this city, to appreciate the distance the U. M. W. has traveled since the first inauguration of Franklin D. Roosevelt. The caretakers trimming the broad lawns, the white-pillared portico, the thick rugs, fine curtains, and carpeted winding staircase—all suggest an institution fully accepted and solidly fixed in the community. In many respects so do the politics.

There are approximately 110,000 miners in the state, and, together with their families and those whose business depends on their welfare, they would easily control the political life of a state whose total vote rarely exceeds 800,000—if they were given to voting *en bloc*. It is probably as well for West Virginia that they are not, for, apart from labor legislation, the views of some of their leaders are not measurably different from those of Colonel McCormick. One of those with whom I talked roundly damned the Administration for "hollering for price controls when here it's been buying up everything in sight and sending all that stuff to Europe." Some are cagy about taking a stand on the Presidential election in advance of the union's convention, which will have been held by the time this appears, but it is apparent that they half expect Lewis to come out for Dewey and possibly to commit the convention to his support. Generally speaking, Lewis has not had much political control over the miners in the past, and his feud with Roosevelt diminished not at all the veneration with which the late President is held by all labor groups in this state—a veneration so marked that one Democratic official here thought it might be a good idea if Westbrook Pegler's columns flailing the dead President were freely circulated through the state. "Nothing like it," he said, "to steam up the miners and get them out for Truman."

The miners' allegiance to Roosevelt, however, is not so readily transferred to his successor, and if Lewis does come out for Dewey, he should find them more responsive than when he tried to win them to Willkie in 1940. The leaders, at least, are bitter over the Administration's crackdown on their chief, the heavy fines against their union, and the use of Taft-Hartley injunctions. In the light of these events they are not prepared to credit the President with sincerity in his veto of the labor law itself. One district president expressed "serious doubt" that Truman could carry the state in any case, and another told me, "I don't think Truman *should* win, and he won't if the boys remember what he did to them." When I suggested that Mr. Truman's opponent is running on a platform that flatly indorses the Taft-Hartley act, he murmured that he wasn't concerned about words, but only about deeds—specifically Mr. Truman's.

THE political picture here is complicated by the Senatorial race between Chapman Revercomb, the Republican incumbent, and Matthew Mansfield Neely, who at various times in his seventy-three years has served the state as Democratic Governor, Senator, and Representative. Weak as Truman may be among the miners, the rest of his ticket is extremely appealing to the state's wage-earners. Senator Barkley, from neighboring Kentucky, is enormously popular here, and some politicians believe he accepted the vice-presidential nomination solely to help capture the Senate for his party. Neely, with a long record as an undeviating Roosevelt supporter, would not in normal circumstances need much help. Something of a "grand old man" in West Virginia politics, he is ardently supported by both the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L., which features Revercomb's name high on its "must list" of Senators to be defeated. And Labor's Non-Partisan League, the Lewis political arm, has just advised its members by open letter that "Neely has done more for the coal miners of America than any other man in public life." His opponent is put down in

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the same letter as an "open enemy" of the miners.

Chapman Revercomb is regarded as something of a political freak in his own state. A native Virginian of Byrd-like stock, he is still eyed suspiciously as an outsider, "washed in from the Tidewater." A common complaint is that "Virginia has three Senators, we have one." It is little wonder that West Virginians feel this way, inasmuch as Revercomb has gone his own way, with scant attention to his constituents. Representing a state with a heavy labor population, he voted to override the President's veto of the Taft-Hartley act and is almost belligerently glad to make his position an issue in the campaign. He voted also to kill public housing, opposed the Marshall Plan, voted against a supplemental steam plant for the TVA, and favored slashing by 25 per cent the appropriation for soil conservation. He gave less support to the bi-partisan foreign policy than any man in the Senate, including "Curly" Brooks of Illinois. On the other hand, he is not believed to have ingratiated himself with the business interests of his state, having failed to perform the little services they expect of a Senator. And above all, he has made a point of annoying his party by needless displays of independence.

Revercomb has some reason to believe that he was tossed the senatorial nomination in 1942 by a party machine that had not the slightest belief he would win the election. That he did win was owing in large part to public dissatisfaction over Neely's decision to abandon the governorship in mid-term in order to make the race, especially since he had abandoned his Senate seat two years earlier in order to run for Governor. Relations have long been strained between Revercomb and National Committeeman Walter H. Hallanan, and intra-party harmony was further discouraged when the Senator spurned Dewey's request that he accept certain proposed amendments that would have removed the curse from his notorious Displaced Persons bill. There is no doubt at all that the bill was flagrantly discriminatory, that Congressional cloakrooms buzzed with the brazenness of its attempts to keep down the number of Jews that might be admitted under the bill, and that Mr. Revercomb, as strong a xenophobe as we have in Washington, knew precisely what he was doing every inch of the way. Just nominated, Dewey was plainly embarrassed by the rawness of the measure, and took advantage of the special session to urge modification. Most of the supporters of the law were ready to yield, but Revercomb brushed off the new leader of his party as though he were no more than a local ward-heeler. Mr. Dewey has yet to give a sign that he esteems this display of spirit.

At Republican headquarters here I was told that whether or not Dewey speaks in the state "doesn't matter much." But only two days earlier, Hallanan, swallowing his dislike of the Senator, had visited the nominee at Pawling and begged him to include West Virginia in his itinerary, pointing out that Revercomb's defeat might cost the Republicans the Senate. Dewey made no promise but indicated that if he should find an open spot for a West Virginia date, he would use the occasion to state his views on the D. P. bill. All in all, I could readily appreciate the attitude of the Republican official who told me that the party would concentrate on the head of the ticket this year and assume that "the tail will go with the hide."

Should this assumption prove unwarranted and the "tail" be lopped off at the polls, I do not think the explanation will lie with the D. P. bill. The Jewish vote in the state is small, and most of it would go against Revercomb in any case, while the Catholics have not made an issue of the matter in any part of the country. Revercomb himself has been making ominous references to "outsiders" flocking into the state to stir up racial feeling, but to my knowledge the issue has been raised only by an assembly of Presbyterians in the northern part of the state which recently condemned the bill as un-American.

FOREIGN policy appears to be even less of an issue. Neely could, if he chose, make much of Revercomb's bitter-end opposition to the European Recovery Program. Neely himself favors it, but prefers to glide over the subject rather than induce opposition from the Wallace adherents, who have put up no candidate against him.

The Democrats will, of course, make inflation something of an issue, but indications are against its being very effective here. Speaking of the miners, one party veteran remarked, "Prices are high, but they're makin' it." The issue, he thought, was one of liberalism versus conservatism—"skilled labor just doesn't want to take chances on going back to Hooverism." There is, in fact, surprisingly little talk about prices, and a disposition to divide pretty evenly on whether to place the blame on the Administration or on Congress.

The Republicans, generally avoiding discussion of the Eightieth Congress, are ready to pull all the stops on the subject of communism—"the top issue of the day," according to Robert McDougall, the party's state chairman. Neely does not underrate the effectiveness of a red-scare campaign, and I gathered that even the U. M. W. would not be deaf to this sort of appeal. But by and large there is much less excitement here over the findings of the un-American Affairs Committee than there is in New York or Washington. The red issue was used intensively against Kilgore two years ago, and he won all the same, though it must be admitted he had a close call. "There is lots of suspicion after every war," remarked one of the state's veteran Democrats. "The press plays it up, but people don't talk much about it."

As I see it, the big issue in this state of coal, steel, and chemical plants is the Taft-Hartley act. The question

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is whether the miners will put their irritation with the President for enforcing the law ahead of their resentment at the Republicans for passing it in the first place.

Mr. Hallanan claims the state for Dewey by 35,000 to 40,000 votes. Senator Kilgore flamboyantly claims it for Truman by 100,000. Roosevelt took it by 70,000 in 1944. While no prominent liberals have associated themselves with the Wallace cause in the state, the third-party leader is spoken of with considerable respect both in Democratic and in U. M. W. circles. Drawing on a big labor population and a fair degree of support among the Negroes, particularly in McDowell County, he is expected to poll anywhere from 30,000 to 50,000 votes. This, together with the expected defection of an appreciable segment of the miners' vote, puts Truman at a grave, if not fatal, disadvantage.

Neely has no such defections to worry about, but neither is he altogether in the clear. A separation of the Revercomb "tail" from the Dewey "hide" will require a ballot-splitting operation of greater magnitude than can normally be counted upon. The smaller Dewey's margin is, if he wins, the fewer split tickets will be required to put Neely across, so that in the end the Truman vote will prove decisive. What really worries the Neely forces is that a good number of miners, sour on Truman, skeptical of Wallace, and yet unwilling to go over to the Dewey camp, will go fishing in some of the beautiful streams of this craggy state—in which case Neely would pay in votes for the alleged sins of the President.

Death of Zhdanov

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Belgrade, September 30

AFTER some contemplation, I can see no particular significance for the future in Zhdanov's death, and I have no reason to suppose that it was not a natural one. In his own way Zhdanov was a great man; he had something of the stuff of which Ivan the Terrible, Peter the Great, and Lenin were made, and of which Stalin is made. His whole life was devoted to the effort to strengthen the Communist Party and the Soviet state.

While one may admire many of his qualities, one may still say that it is perhaps just as well he won't be there to succeed Stalin—for which he was obviously being groomed and, especially, was grooming himself. With his fanatical, single-track mind—in contrast to Molotov's cold calculation—he might more easily have rushed the world into war than Molotov is likely to do. Molotov's claim to the throne is now undisputed.

Zhdanov, unlike Molotov, had a slightly theatrical personality, and more personal vanity and ambition than Molotov. He enjoyed a sense of personal power—seemed to get a kick out of scaring people. One has this impression after reading the verbatim report of his conference last January with the Soviet musicians.

Zhdanov was extreme in everything. The son of a czarist inspector of schools with the rank of a civil-service general, he was determined to be proletarian and plebeian. In early youth he joined the Bolshevik Party and became a fanatical supporter of Stalin after Lenin's death. He rose rapidly in the party hierarchy, thanks to his untiring heresy hunts against the Trotskyites and certain trade-union elements. After Kirov's assassination Zhdanov became the party chief in Leningrad, a city always considered insufficiently Kremlin conscious. It was not accidental that Zhdanov developed an intense spite against that typical Leningrader, Shostakovich, or that he exclaimed, in denouncing Leningrad writers, "Enough slobbering over Tsarkoye Selo and bronze horsemen! This is the city of Lenin, not Peter the Great!"

Yet it was Zhdanov who saved Leningrad from the Germans. The city had been on iron rations for two months. Rather than surrender, Zhdanov cut these rations in half. Hundreds of thousands of civilians starved to death on their daily three ounces of bread, but Zhdanov gained time to organize the transport of food supplies across the ice of Lake Ladoga.

He applied the same ruthless methods in the campaign to create a new Soviet art and literature in preparation for the transition from socialism to communism. Human feelings did not matter to him. He was pursuing a grand idea. People had to be conditioned so that they would become model Communists through reading dull books and listening to unsophisticated music. He reveled in denouncing formalists and degenerates—did it dashingly, with heavy humor. And even if the Soviet people did not all become good Communists, at least, he thought, they were taught to hate the West.

He had a great capacity for hate. His speech at the first Cominform meeting in September, 1947, sharply dividing the world into an imperialist and an anti-imperialist camp, was the most outspoken declaration of ideological war to date. In the Yugoslav crisis he acted on instructions from Stalin, but it would be interesting to read his speeches at the June Cominform meeting.

His death is not likely to make any immediate difference with the status of Prokofiev, Shostakovich, and Tito. But in the long view it may make some difference not to have this hard, cat-like man running so many things. The day may come when we shall be glad to know he isn't there to upset the apple-cart.

ALEXANDER WERTH, well-known Moscow correspondent, has just returned to Belgrade from a trip to Poland. In an early issue he will describe Poland's agricultural-collectivization program and the dispute over the policies of Wladyslaw Gomulka, former secretary-general of the Polish Communist Party.

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"Harry Don't Fight Orthodox"

BY ROBERT G. SPIVACK

With the Truman Train

THE REPUBLICANS laughed when Harry Truman sat down at the piano to beat out his "give 'em hell" tune. They laugh no more. For the scrappy little Missourian returns East after his first transcontinental vote-getting tour much stronger than when he left.

Truman, as one California politician put it, "don't fight orthodox." In this age of stumping by radio the personal touch has largely gone out of campaigning. Truman has tried to put it back. In fact, the Democrats have very little money for radio or advertisements or leaflets. So Truman has had to rely almost entirely on personal appeal. In his first campaign trip he covered 18 states and made 138 stops in 16 days. On some days he made almost a speech an hour.

Harry Truman's fighting style is all his own. He weaves and bobs, daring Dewey to "come out in the open" and stop the "double-talk." At Los Angeles he said the Republican opposition was trying its best to "avoid any suggestion that there is something to fight about in this campaign." "But this is a championship fight," he snapped. He called the penny-pinching Republican Representative Taber of the House Appropriations Committee a "reluctant reactionary." Senator Taft, he said, "ran out on his own housing bill."

Instead of making a frontal assault on Dewey he has confined himself so far to frequent sharp jabs. The Republican nominee, he says, is trying to "lull you to sleep" with "high-level platitudes." But on one point he has swung all the way from the floor in the roughhouse Missouri manner. In two Western talks, one in Utah, the other in California, Truman recounted in some detail how he tried to enlist in the armed services during World War II. He wanted to give up his Senate seat and train soldiers as artillerymen. He applied to General Marshall, then Chief of Staff, but Marshall told him this was a "young man's war" and to go back to his duties in the Senate. Many reporters caught the implication of the story promptly, but some did not. So Truman spelled it out a little more plainly. In his second talk he told a group of farmers how he started out at the age of twenty-two as a farmer and went to war when he was thirty-three. "I didn't claim exemption as a farmer," he said pointedly.

Although there is no evidence that Dewey "claimed exemption" as a farmer, report has it that he gave his occupation in the Selective Service forms as "farmer." After leaving the Manhattan District Attorney's office in 1941, Dewey was in private law practice until January, 1943, when he became Governor of New York. Some thought he should have given his occupation as "lawyer." He was then thirty-nine.

Dewey's lack of a war record has been emphasized only in Republican intra-party fights. Backers of Harold Stassen pointed out that their hero resigned as Governor of Minnesota to enter the navy. The Chicago *Tribune* went into the absence of war records among Dewey's principal assistants. Whether the point is effective campaign material or will boomerang as too dirty remains to be seen. The President is said to be withholding one or two similar items for later use.

As a campaigner Truman has been more effective than might have been expected. He is weakest when reading a prepared speech, better than average when speaking extemporaneously. At Dexter, Iowa, where he spoke at the sixth annual national plowing contest, an audience of 80,000 gathered to hear him. The sun was beating down, and there were a lot of Republicans present. The President seemed to freeze as he delivered his "gluttons of privilege" speech. He stumbled over words and muffed his own best lines by reading too fast. It was the same at Denver, where he spoke in the open. The homespun qualities which have recommended him to smaller crowds didn't get across.

But when he made rear-platform talks right off the cuff, his homespun technique was sometimes extraordinarily good. He talked about the "bunch of old mossbacks" in the Republican Party, the "terrible, do-nothing Eightieth Congress." "If you don't get out and vote, you'll get what you deserve," he said again and again. The crowds seemed to love it. "Give 'em hell, Harry," they yelled, or "You tell it to them, Harry." "Would you like to meet my family?" the President would ask as a cheer went up. The First Lady was introduced as "the boss" and Margaret as the "boss's boss." Truman often got up before daylight to speak and once apologized for missing a talk scheduled for 4:45 a. m.

As major issues he stressed the record of the "notorious" Eightieth Congress and the fact that the Republican Party, even with Dewey and Warren leading it, was the same old party of Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover, the party of the boom and the crash. In the Far West he pledged new reclamation and hydroelectric developments. In Los Angeles he made a plea to the non-Com-

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munist followers of Wallace's Progressive Party to come back home and unite against G. O. P. "reaction."

A California Gallup poll published on the very day of Truman's arrival in the state showed that his constant hammering on the need for liberal unity against Republican reaction was having some effect. It reported a 2 per cent drop in Wallace strength, with Truman advancing 6 per cent on Dewey in one month. Dewey, of course, still held a substantial lead, but the combined Truman-Wallace strength equaled his.

Going through town after town on a campaign train, one finds it difficult to assay the results of a candidate's offensive. In the few cities where correspondents stayed long enough to talk with local voters after Truman had spoken, there was general agreement that he had made headway. But nobody seems to think that the "greatest little salesman ever to occupy the White House," as one Missouri paper described the President, had gained enough strength to cause Elmo Roper to alter his decision to take no poll before November.

Through his constant hammering at the Republican Congress Truman may bring about the election of a Democratic Senate. If this is accomplished, his campaign will have been worthwhile.

Jim Murray's Chances

BY JOSEPH KINSEY HOWARD

Great Falls, Montana

JIM MURRAY polled the largest vote of any candidate on a party ticket in Montana's July primary, a vote topped only by that of a Supreme Court aspirant on the non-partisan judicial ballot. He swamped his lone Democratic rival five to one, and rolled up a score approximately double that of the leading Republican contender, Tom J. Davis.

Nobody expected the liberal senior Senator to lose in the primary, but the decisiveness of his triumph was somewhat surprising. Six years ago he scraped through the election with only about 1,500 votes to spare, and 1948 had looked to many like a Republican year. As it turned out, the Democratic vote in Montana this summer was almost a third greater than the Republican.

Nevertheless, Murray is in for the toughest fight of his fourteen years in the Senate. There are some indications that he knows this: his campaign schedule—it lists more than seventy appearances which take him into every one of the fifty-six far-flung counties—appears to be evidence of genuine concern, but his friends fear that he doesn't really believe it. The overconfidence which almost cost him reelection six years ago, they think, is still James E. Murray's worst enemy. Davis's tour, they point out, began several weeks earlier than his and is at least as extensive.

A Montana political junket takes a lot out of a man. A two-hundred-mile jump between breakfast and lunch and one of another hundred before dinner are frequent. Both candidates will spend most of their time between now and Election Day on the pockmarked, crumbling asphalt highways—legacy of eight years of the do-nothing Republican administration of Governor Sam (Model T) Ford. They are stumping villages which never before saw a politician outranking the sheriff.

Both have the help of big names. Barkley, O'Mahoney, and Krug have been booked for Murray; Dewey and Warren for Davis. The California governor, whose strategy thus far appears to be to convert the campaign into a popularity contest, is expected to accomplish more for Davis than Dewey could, but he may find it difficult to reconcile his own advocacy of Western development with Davis's timid appeasement of the big taxpayers and the Montana Power Company.

Murray's smashing victory in the primary loses some significance when it is noted that his opponent, a politically minded physician and one-time crony of Burton K. Wheeler, was a notoriously poor runner who previously had failed to win even the mayoralty in his home town. Davis had much tougher competition, but his capture of the Republican nomination from Wellington Rankin in a secretly acrimonious struggle left his party grievously wounded and thereby enhanced Murray's prospects. Rankin now suspects, with excellent grounds, that the Republican organization was surreptitiously behind Davis. He is reported to be swinging his support and that of his personal machine to Murray in November.

Murray will also get the votes of Montana's Wallaceites, for a maneuver allegedly born of an unholy alliance of Republicans and the extreme left wing of the new party failed in the attempt to create a Progressive Party state ticket.

Still another factor which may help the Democratic incumbent is the phenomenal increase in voters' registration. Record enrolment of new voters is reported from several counties, and much of the impetus for the registration in at least two of the most populous areas came from the Democrats. Many of the new voters are young,

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Drawing by Seligson

Senator Murray

and many, especially in Yellowstone County, are in the labor group. Organized labor, regardless of affiliation, is for Murray. So is the Farmers' Union, which is the largest, most militant, and best-disciplined organization of any kind in the eastern two-thirds of the state.

Late in September an ugly element entered the campaign, a furtive attempt to make an issue of religion. Mimeographed lists of candidates, source unacknowledged, were left lying about to be picked up by the curious and may have been distributed through the mails. The lists purported to give the religious affiliation of the nominees—Protestant, Catholic, a solitary Mormon. Senator Murray and John Bonner, Democrat, who is challenging Ford's bid for a third term as governor, are Catholics.

If this repulsive tactic was of Protestant origin, as it appeared to be, Protestants Davis and Ford might be wise to repudiate it emphatically. Injection of the religious issue into a Montana campaign is not only reprehensible but politically idiotic in view of the large Catholic voting population, especially in Butte. There is also a sizable Protestant element which can be counted upon to resist any attempt to promote bigotry. The chairman of the state Democratic Central Committee is understood to be asking for a federal inquiry into the source of the anonymous leaflets. He is a Mason.

Favorable as most of these factors may appear, they do not add up to an easy Murray victory. Tom Davis—like Murray, a Butte attorney—is the "white-haired boy" of the business and industrial interests. With one important exception no politically powerful group has anything against him, for he has devoted his public life to good works. Most Montanans regard him as a man of integrity, a conservative but a cut above many of the politicians who have enjoyed the support of the Anaconda Copper and Montana Power companies. His experience as president of Rotary International has made him a good platform performer, which Murray often is not. His speeches, however, are a rehash of time-worn Republican platitudes. Nearly everyone likes him except the medical profession.

The plight of Montana's physicians in November, 1948, is truly pitiable. The old guard among them long ago washed their hands of Murray because of his sponsorship of "socialized medicine." Davis normally would be their man. But Davis was chief counsel for the osteopaths when they attempted, several years ago, to force their way into all Montana hospitals by means of an initiative measure. In the course of the battle Davis went on the air with a bitter denunciation of the Montana medical profession which the victims have never forgiven. Now the doctors are being reminded that although Murray did sponsor national health insurance—meanwhile requesting, fruitlessly, the counsel and cooperation of the profession—he also has worked consistently to help the private practitioner through expansion of federal aid to private research.

AN OUTSTANDING figure in the dwindling band of indomitable liberals, Murray had a rough time in the Eightieth Congress. He fought doggedly against what Representative Gore called "this monstrous thing that is being done to the people of the West"—the Republican majority's shameless surrender to the power lobby and its determination to destroy, by subterfuge, the established policy of public-power development.

The full extent of the power trust's achievement—and specifically that of Montana Power—may be found in a rider which Representative Ben Jensen and his House subcommittee obligingly attached to the Interior Department appropriation bill after J. E. Corette, Jr., a Montana Power vice-president, had testified before the group. The rider, which denies funds for the installation of power facilities at the Canyon Ferry project in Montana, was knocked out in the Senate without debate but was restored later when House conferees insisted upon it. Canyon Ferry is a key project in plans for the Missouri Basin, and without power it is infeasible: revenue from the sale of power is essential to help pay for it and to make it possible for it to fulfil its major function, reclamation. But it is in the heart of Montana Power's territory. With public-power development at this site forbidden by the rider, Canyon Ferry becomes a ridiculous waste of federal funds. The power project thus nullified had been previously authorized by Congress.

In the closing hours of the special session Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming and Murray made a valiant attempt to persuade the Senate to approve a supplementary appropriation bill sent to the chamber by President Truman. They failed, partly because Montana's junior Senator, Zales Ecton, rose to defend the power trust. But Murray got the real issue on record. "The only reason," he said, "we are not getting them [Western power projects] is that the power interests do not want them. That is the truth of the matter, and everyone who knows the situation understands that."

Few men in public life today have so steadfastly pursued "the truth of the matter," and few have done so at greater cost. Personal abuse is an old story to Murray. In Montana he rates as a wealthy man, and since his

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state has had no experience with socially enlightened plutocrats, the prosperous denounce him as "a traitor to his class." The daily press, half of it owned by Anaconda and the other half too timid to defy it, either ignores his crusades or brands them communistic. Even within the state party organization, sworn to advance his candidacy, are men giving allegiance to his enemies.

And Murray is still neither a very deft parliamentary strategist nor a very astute politician. He has fumbled on the floor—notably with his most statesmanlike proposal, the Missouri Valley Authority—and he has shortcomings as a campaigner. So he could lose in '48. But throughout his career, undismayed by the later divagations of the New Deal, the defection of Truman, or the temporary triumph of reaction, he has clung stubbornly to the liberal position. Call him naive or call him courageous; he stands today right where he stood in 1934 when everybody was a liberal and the power trust was on the run. That is why liberals everywhere will tune in anxiously for the Montana election returns.

Inflation, Depression, and Rearmament

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

THE inflationary trend, with its great dangers for the entire American economy, is becoming more and more apparent. The income of millions of people has already been drastically reduced, and one of industry's most important markets is severely threatened.

For a full understanding of the inflationary process we must examine the special economic conditions prevailing in this country since the end of the war. With the advent of peace, military needs, which during the war had absorbed almost half of our enormously swollen production, were radically curtailed. What took their place? What made it possible for production to be maintained at approximately the 1946 level, with almost full employment?

Before Congress voted the new armaments program, the decrease in military expenditures was compensated for by three new markets, all indirect consequences of the recent war. The size of the first was indicated by the extremely favorable balance of foreign trade. The second was created by great business investments, which far exceeded in volume those of "normal" years. The third was found in the increased mass consumption. During the war the masses had been unable to acquire consumer goods in amounts corresponding to their greatly increased incomes and had been forced to save. They now appeared in the market as consumers and with their war-time savings were able to spend out of all proportion to their annual income.

What is the present situation in these three markets? Let us first consider foreign trade. Before the Marshall Plan was put in operation, the financing of our large export trade was highly uncertain. By 1947 foreign countries had liquidated a considerable part of their assets and gold deposits in the United States to help redress their unfavorable trade balance. This, of course, is something that can be done only once; it cannot be repeated. In the first half of 1948, when the Marshall Plan was not yet effective, the excess of United States exports over imports was some two billion dollars less than in 1947. In the second half of the year Marshall Plan aid will presumably cause the export balance to rise again. But it must be borne in mind that in 1947 foreign nations liquidated no less than $4,400,000,000 in American assets and that Marshall Plan expenditures are to exceed $5,000,000,000 annually only in the first few years. Thus the most that can be expected is that American exports will be maintained at the 1947 level for a certain period. Marshall Plan aid will *not for the present create an additional market for United States goods.* Its effect on the American economy will be primarily to prevent any sudden falling off of exports, with the inevitable dangerous consequences.

FOR the time of its duration Marshall Plan aid can to a certain extent cushion the American economy against shocks originating in the world economy. It cannot alter the fact that more than 90 per cent of American production must continue to be marketed in the United States. This brings us to the matter of post-war business investments, which in 1947 had become abnormally large by pre-war standards. According to the Economic Report of the President, "the record level of business investments in 1947 was another major source of demand for goods and services, swelling the pressure upon our available resources. Business expenditures for plant, equipment, and additional inventories amounted to over $25,000,000,000 in 1947 compared with about $21,000,000,000 in 1946." The crucial question is of course: Can these abnormally high investments be expected to continue over a period of years?

Before the new military program was voted, the President's Council of Economic Advisers was doubtful that

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they could. "Although the rate of replacement and improvement of productive equipment will vary in response to the outlook for demand, prices, and costs, it appears that total plant and equipment outlays may be leveling off. Industrial construction contracts have remained well below the high levels of 1946. In many industries post-war expansion programs for capacity are nearly completed." This skeptical forecast, however, has not been confirmed in the first half of 1948. Business investments have remained at their extremely high level—a level considerably higher than the average for the whole of 1947 and somewhat higher than in the second half of 1947.

But here we must take into account the fact that by the middle of 1948 military expenditures had perceptibly increased. "The foreign aid and defense programs," according to the President's midyear Economic Report, "though slow to affect requirements for capital goods, have firmed up business confidence and have extended expansion plans farther into the future." Thus the continued high level of investments is at least partly dependent on the armament program.

AS FOR the third market, in the last half-year the pent-up consumer demand has begun markedly to diminish. The grave consequences of this trend were pointed out by the President, but they were described far more clearly and dramatically by Leon H. Keyserling, vice-chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, before the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency. Anyone who is interested in America's economic future and the grave dangers that threaten it should make it his business to read Mr. Keyserling's statement. "Since 1946, when post-war inflation got started in earnest," he said, "families of low income and moderately low income have undoubtedly lost ground in the race with living costs. Among families with incomes under $2,000 a full quarter suffered actual decreases of income during this period, and an additional 40 per cent of these families received no increase in income. Thus the families who have been the worst victims of the advancing cost of living because their incomes are low are also the families who have been least able even to hold their ground during the process of inflation."

In order to maintain their level of consumption in spite of the reduction in their incomes, these families spent their war-time savings. When their savings were gone, many went into debt. "The sheer physical problem of being unable to maintain a satisfactory standard of living," Mr. Keyserling continued, "has been compounded by the psychological problem of going deeper into debt. In 1947 about 57 per cent of the families with incomes below $1,000 and about 41 per cent of the families with incomes between $1,000 and $2,000 either spent more than they earned or barely broke even. By early 1948 about 27 per cent had no liquid assets, 15 per cent had less than $200, and still another 13 per cent had liquid assets between $200 and $500. Cumulatively, about 55 per cent of all spending units had liquid assets of less than $500."

In this post-war inflation period it is very clear that the poor have grown poorer and the rich have grown richer. Corporation profits have registered an enormous increase, both absolutely and in comparison with the national income as a whole: they amounted to 8 per cent of the national income in 1929, the year of peak prosperity before the crisis, and to 12.3 per cent in the first half of 1948. On the other hand, real earnings of all wage-earners have declined about 10 per cent since June, 1946.

RADICAL measures to combat inflation are not to be expected. The power of the big corporations has been so increased that they are able to block any serious anti-inflationary measure. Even during the war industrial concentration had gone so far that 250 giant corporations controlled a production equal to that of the entire American economy before the war. Since the war the process of concentration through mergers has continued on a large scale. A report on the subject by the Federal Trade Commission declared: "This movement, under way since 1940, has already resulted in the disappearance of more than 2,450 formerly independent manufacturing and mining companies. These firms held assets aggregating some $5,200,000,000, or more than 5 per cent of the total assets of *all* manufacturing corporations in the country." The report of the FTC draws the following conclusion: "No great stretch of the imagination is required to foresee that if nothing is done to check the growth in concentration, either the giant corporations will ultimately take over the country or the government will be impelled to step in and impose some form of direct regulation in the public interest—the theory of competition will have been relegated to the limbo of well-intentioned but ineffective ideals."

If the economic future of the United States were determined entirely by internal factors, the crisis of 1929, which was never liquidated in peace time and was only overcome by the war, would in all probability be repeated very soon. For as I have shown, the effect of the inflation is constantly to increase the gap between production and productive capacity on the one hand and the consumer market on the other. But prosperity in this country today depends on the political situation abroad—that is, on the necessity for rearmament. The success of the present truce economy can be prolonged only if military expenditures, already approximately three times as large as expenditures for the Marshall Plan, are sharply increased. A gradual increase would probably not be enough to prevent severe reverses.

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Inside Franco's Domain

BY A. W. SHEPPARD

London

MY STAY in Spain last summer was not long, and I was mainly in Andalusia and the Levant—Cadiz, Malaga, Jaen, a short visit to Madrid, and La Linea and Algeciras, through which I returned to Gibraltar. So I do not claim to have got to know all about the Spanish people or the present Spanish political situation. I thought the political picture even more complicated than that of Greece, for in Greece the party lines are now drawn more sharply and religion is not so clearly on the side of reaction.

Courtesy *Die Nation* (Zurich)

My friends in La Linea had told me that any criticism of the government would result in imprisonment and beatings, and they had scars to prove it. But in Cadiz and Madrid particularly I heard people tell jokes about Franco and criticize the government. The army officer whom I met in the bus gave me the explanation when I asked him about it. "Poof," he said, "we are not worried about a lot of old ladies gabbling. But just let them think of forming groups of opposition, just let them think of translating their thoughts into actions, and they will see how quickly and strongly we can act."

Because there is some talking in cafes, and because there will be more visitors to Spain now that Britishers can get the exchange enabling them to go there, we can expect to hear stories about freedom of speech in Spain, and many good people will probably believe them. There is the story about how Franco used to offer prayers daily for the success of the Italian Communists, since he knew that then the title of "Bastion of Democracy" would fall to him and Spain would be included in the Marshall Plan. The second part of this tale, according to the person who told me, is that when the Communists failed to win the elections in Italy, Franco told the Almighty that as He had not helped in this small matter, the Ministerio de Gobernación would cease torturing those who did not support the church.

Except among soldiers, the main topic of conversation was the enormous price of all essential commodities, the impossibility of getting housing, unemployment, the increase in the number of beggars, and the rackets in food supplying. Service men get priority in accommodations and special rations at very low prices, are free to travel through the countryside and to purchase where they please, and are permitted to take foodstuffs and other controlled items from one area to another. Any other person visiting, say, his family in the country would be unable to take any food back with him without a special permit from the *sindicato*. It was a quite usual sight to see the police confiscating food parcels on trains and buses.

Never did I hear a good word about the *sindicatos*, even from rabid Francoites. The *sindicatos* are responsible for the supply of raw materials to all industries and for the sale of the finished product. In general, the controls are centered in Madrid or Barcelona, and permission to depart one hair's-breadth from any specified form of delivery, manufacture, or sale must be obtained from headquarters. The opportunities for graft are therefore legion, and the general view is that they are never neglected. The racket in olive oil is particularly profitable. Around Jaen I was shown enormous quantities of olive oil, some of it two seasons old, but olive oil in Madrid, and I was told in Barcelona, can be bought only on the black market. The *sindicato* will not give permission for more than minimal amounts to be moved, since most of the officials are selling it on the black market and making enormous profits. The army is in on this racket, and military trucks from Madrid, Barcelona, and even Salamanca bring officers and soldiers to Jaen to buy the oil at from three to four pesetas a liter and take it back to the cities, where it can be sold for from 100 to 120 pesetas a liter.

Unemployment has reached extremely high levels. I could not obtain general figures from any official source, but I was introduced to a president of a building-trades *sindicato* who told me that in his trade about 80,000 workers, or 40 per cent of the total number, were unemployed for most of the year. Falange members, who are graded at least as "militants," are taking two and three jobs to make ends meet. This is possible because hours of labor are restricted; in most white-collar trades they do not exceed thirty hours a week in summer.

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The increase in the cost of living since 1936 can be seen in the following figures which I copied from the monthly statement of the *Annuario Estadístico de España.*

PERCENTAGE INCREASES, MARCH, 1948, OVER AVERAGE FOR YEAR 1936

Wages

Agricultural workers	78
Textile workers	65
Shoe-industry workers	58
Miners	44

Food Prices

	Official Price	*Black Market*
White bread	Not quoted	400
Olive oil	525	900
Sugar	300	2,000
Rice	350	1,400
Meat	300	Unobtainable

I asked several persons about their wages. A bus driver gets sixteen pesetas a day, a conductor fourteen. Unskilled workers in the metallurgical industry get fifteen pesetas, skilled from twenty-four to forty-five. There are several rates of exchange, which makes comparison with levels in other countries difficult, but the average official rate of exchange is about eighteen pesetas to the dollar. Ration scales vary according to wages received, but it can be said fairly that few workers except highly skilled artisans can buy a kilo of bread on the black market for a day's pay.

Everyone in Spain seems to wear a uniform. The size of Spain's peace-time army would impoverish even a rich nation. In the 1948 budget the army accounts for more than one-fifth of the total revenue, and the three services, together with the police, account for about half of the total expenditure of the state.

I met many Republicans who disclosed themselves to me as such; they were always unemployed and living on odd jobs and charity. Those with strong principles had refused to join the Falange even as "adherents," the lowest rank, and therefore could not get employment. They seemed almost indifferent to most of the activities of the Republican government in exile. The general view was that Don Juan or his son would become head of the state on the death of Franco but that this would make little difference except perhaps to the army.

There is real opposition to Franco, but it has no means of expressing itself except in acts of violence such as wrecking a train occasionally or killing a civil guard, and these things are put down so ruthlessly that they are unprofitable. More and more the opposition realizes that it must either acquiesce or join the *guerilleros.*

Staunch Republicans were concerned over the fact that the younger generation are growing up without having known any rule but Franco's. The young have been filled with Franco propaganda by the church, which has absolute control over education, and they get it also in the moving pictures; there is practically no opposition to the present regime among young soldiers, students, or even young industrial workers. It is thought that the young peasants are less touched by this propaganda. Half the agricultural workers are landless, and among these, or so I found where I was able to move about freely, there are large pockets of Republican opposition.

I noted one difference from Greece. Britain is not looked upon as the evil influence it was held to be by Greek liberals. It is assumed that British policy supports Franco, and the matter is left there. Some Socialists told me they had hoped that the Labor Party, egged on by the trade unions, might bring pressure to bear on Franco, but they have put away such hopes since the signing of the recent trade treaty between Britain and Spain. The influence of American business men and technicians was obvious, and the general talk, much exaggerated, of course, was that the air concessions granted to the United States meant that Spain would be used as a base in the coming war. Argentine influence was objected to more, on the ground of prestige. Argentina now has free ports at Cadiz and Barcelona, large credit balances, and the right to invest in key industries in Spain. Spanish agriculture, in return, is getting the fertilizers for lack of which agricultural efficiency fell by something like 40 per cent in the past ten years; and under the agreements with France and Britain Spanish industry is getting some light machinery and some coal and chemicals. But nobody has come along yet to supply Spain with the rolling stock and track needed to make its railways run.

These things stand out in Spain today: Franco still runs the country, and the opposition to him is weak and divided. The army is having a good time, thank you, and does not want any change. Unemployment is increasing, wages have lost the battle against the cost of living, and there is ever-deepening misery only partly assuaged by the teaching of the church that this life is of course a vale of tears but the next life will be good. The church is getting along fine, too, and while I was there the Primate, Cardinal Pla y Deniel, announced that the clause in the Fuero de los Españoles guaranteeing freedom of worship was intended to apply only to foreigners resident in Spain. There is a lot more guerrilla activity than most people think, but there is little or no support for another civil war. Spain would sell its soul, or what is left of it, to get on the Marshall Plan band-wagon. The United States and Argentina are coming in to ginger up industry. The Franco regime seems to think that a Republican victory in the American Presidential elections will mean more aid to them because they will be better allies than France or Italy in the fight against the Soviets. So beware of a renewed campaign to put over Franco, the "Christian Gentleman," as the much-misunderstood white-haired boy of Europe.

End

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Appeasement: Its Uses and Abuses

MUNICH, PROLOGUE TO TRAGEDY. By John W. Wheeler-Bennett. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $5.

BY THE fall of 1937 Hitler had shattered the Versailles treaty through a series of unilateral actions, rebuilt German armaments to a formidable level, organized the German economy on a war basis, and divided and demoralized the former Allied powers. The period of Nazi consolidation had ended; the era of aggressive expansion was about to open. The question of Germany's future, the Führer told a secret conference of his military and political lieutenants on November 7, 1937, was "where the greatest possible conquest could be made at the lowest cost."

It is with a report of this meeting, based on the minutes which were captured after the war and formed part of the documentary evidence at the Nürnberg trials, that Mr. Wheeler-Bennett opens his brilliant account of the most dismal chapter in the history of diplomatic diplomacy. No writer I know of is better equipped to undertake the job. Mr. Wheeler-Bennett is a seasoned observer of international affairs who combines assiduous scholarship with that sense of drama that marks the first-class reporter. The result is a book which is indispensable to students but, unlike many works in that category, so absorbing that it is hard to put down unfinished.

Purist critics may complain that his objectivity is suspect because he was obviously emotionally involved in the events he describes. Who among us was not? Actually, while Mr. Wheeler-Bennett writes as an undisguised opponent of appeasement, he always plays fair. His charges against Chamberlain, Daladier, *et al.* are meticulously documented, and he does not fall into the vulgar error of pinning the whole blame for Munich on a few politicians. The policy of appeasement, he makes it clear, reflected majority opinion in Britain and France. It had its roots in the almost wilful lack of imagination of the British people and the acute ideological divisions of the French.

Mr. Wheeler-Bennett castigates the British government's failure to provide leadership, but he is no less severe with the shortcomings of the opposition and particularly with the attempts of the Labor Party to combine championship of collective security with a refusal to give any support to rearmament. The left in Britain failed completely to realize how pacifism played into the hands of those to whom war was a natural instrument of policy.

The story that Mr. Wheeler-Bennett tells is divided into four parts. The first describes the "drama of Munich," beginning with the war of nerves that preceded it and ending with an almost blow-by-blow account of the last frantic weeks. The author then turns back to 1933 to show how Britain and France "slept fitfully" while the Nazis busied themselves unceasingly with preparations for aggression. Part III is devoted to the period following Munich which ended when Chamberlain's dream of "peace in our time" dissolved in the nightmare of the Nazi seizure of Prague. And in Part IV we see the British people, aroused at last, pushing their still reluctant Prime Minister into a posture of resistance. An epilogue takes us to the House of Commons on August 5, 1942, when Anthony Eden on behalf of Britain formally denounced the Munich Agreement. The whole work is illustrated by contemporary cartoons and buttressed by appendices of relevant documents and a full bibliography.

This book shows fairly conclusively that by September, 1938, Hitler could no longer have been held back. If Britain and France had not gagged and bound Czechoslovakia and delivered it as a futile sacrifice on the altar of peace, the Reichswehr would have marched on October 1—the deadline set months earlier—and World War II would have begun eleven months sooner.

But could the triumphant progress of the Third Reich have been checked at an earlier stage? That is another matter. The story of the years before Munich is a tale of lost opportunities. Determined and united action by Britain and France on any of the several occasions when broken pieces of Versailles were rudely hurled at them would probably have stopped Hitler in his tracks. Even as late as May, 1938, a momentary display of solidarity in support of Czechoslovakia resulted in a major diplomatic defeat for Hitler. But as Mr. Wheeler-Bennett says, "the annals of history can rarely have afforded so remarkable an example of successful powers terrified at their own success as that presented by Britain and France after the May crisis." Instead of seeking to cement a new-found unity, London and Paris quickly restored Hitler's aplomb by putting pressure on Prague to accede to all his demands.

What was it that made the Anglo-French policies that culminated in Munich as evil as they were futile? It was not because they were designed to secure peace but because they attempted to buy it through the surrender of vital principles. One result was that the idea of appeasement—in itself surely the proper end of diplomacy—was corrupted by making it synonymous with yielding to blackmail. Not the least of the bitter fruits of Munich we are still garnering is a widespread confusion between the uses and abuses of appeasement that forms a psychological obstacle to the settlement of international disputes.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Albert Camus

THE PLAGUE. By Albert Camus. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

THE STRANGER. By Albert Camus. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.

TWO PLAYS. By Albert Camus. New Directions. $3.

CAMUS is a first-rate dramatist, and it is to be hoped that with the failure of "The Plague" as a novel he will go back to writing plays. "The Stranger" still seems to me the French equivalent of "Of Mice and Men," with a last discrepant chapter reminiscent of Malraux, who seems during the 1940's to haunt Camus so far as style and atti-

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tude are concerned; Garine, Klein, Clappique can easily be recognized in their chlorotic counterparts in "The Plague."

This novel is among other things a parallel to Defoe's "Journal of the Plague Year." The epigraph, quoted from Defoe, reads: "It is as reasonable to represent one kind of imprisonment by another as it is to represent anything that really exists by that which exists not." This is an apparently deep statement though actually mere apothegmatic double-talk; but unless it is intended to be coyly ironic it only means that "The Plague" has not the least relevance to the German occupation of France. Or does it? Camus never makes up his mind on this point.

The trouble is that Americans are going to think this kind of novel typical of post-war French writing, and the publishers in this country of course publish translations of works which most resemble what people are already used to. I am just finishing what I think is certainly the best French novel of the 1940's, Aragon's "Les Voyageurs de l'Impériale." I doubt whether it will be translated; it is too French. Where are the Bonibooks and the splendid Knopf translations we used to get in the early thirties? Instead of these we get the worst of Sartre—who has thought of publishing his wonderful short stories? —Elsa Triolet, the ineffable Simone de Beauvoir, and certainly not the best of Anouilh and Aymé. As for Paroutaud, Gascar, Jarlot, Queneau, Frotté, Daumal, their names are not even mentioned in the Letters from Paris in the avant-garde magazines.

As for "The Plague," after seventy promising pages there is nothing but tedious sermonizing, Voltaire's poem on the Lisbon disaster brought up to date: *le fléau,* the plague, the scourge-flail, the act of God, explaining nothing, least of all the Absurd, which is here an assembly-line abstraction, whereas in the plays Camus explains nothing but succeeds completely in relating the Absurd to the Sublime.

Camus evidently thinks Dr. Rieux, the protagonist of the book, an excellent medical man. With, save the mark, plenty of symbolic meaning. Dr. Rieux knows a plague bacillus when he sees one. But if you suddenly shouted "Groddeck!" at him he would look back at you with a long, serious, vapid stare before saying:

> The evil that is in the world always comes of ignorance, and good intentions may do as much harm as malevolence if they lack understanding. On the whole, men are more good than bad; that, however, isn't the real point. But they are more or less ignorant, and it is this that we call vice or virtue; the most incorrigible vice being that of an ignorance that fancies it knows everything and therefore claims for itself the right to kill.

Socrates? But what of Hitler? If we have learned anything in the last few years, it is that evil is positive and exists for its own sake, that it is substantial and not a mere attribute of the good, that it can be destroyed but not "educated," and is very, very interesting. Those terribly ignorant archetypes of one aspect of the twentieth century—Aretino, Gilles de Retz, Laclos, Sade, Mirabeau. Only after a caldron of unholy loves have sung all about one's ears can one be proud of the choice of the good, but in "The Plague" all the characters on the right side are like boy

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scouts at a Wednesday Christian Endeavor. What we want to know is how or why the aberration of the Marquis de Sade turns into the mass psychosis of our time. Anyway, there was a man in Vienna who said you could never cure what I think he called the narcissistic psychoses.

"Nothing," says Camus, "is less sensational than pestilence . . . great misfortunes are monotonous. In the memory of those who lived through them, the grim days of plague do not stand out like vivid flames . . . but rather like the slow, deliberate progress of some monstrous thing crushing out all upon its path." The very juggernaut of boredom, I agree, but there must be some way in which to turn what is boring into interesting material for a novel. Death becomes an abstraction, and the death of ten thousand is not, everybody knows, ten thousand times more grievous than the death of one beloved individual.

It is impossible to emphasize enough the difference in Camus between novelist and playwright. "Caligula," the first of his two plays, is original but belongs to a genre firmly established by Giraudoux. The closest English equivalent, I suppose, is Shaw's "Caesar and Cleopatra." Giraudoux wrote play after play for an audience which was supposed to remember its classical mythology and drama well enough to be able to notice the differences between ancient and modern times. He was a master of that ironic twisting of comedy which turns it suddenly into tragic terror, though pity is kept in abeyance by the refusal of the apperceptive tragic hero at any time to sheathe the brilliant wit which is his only real weapon against his fate. Gide in "Thésée" and Anouilh in "Antigone" have followed Giraudoux. In "Caligula" Camus carries twentieth-century ethics to a *reductio ad absurdum,* but you don't think of that while reading the play because the action is so perfectly contrived and because Caligula, like Hamlet, is but mad north-north-west and mostly endowed with an atrocious clairvoyance. This play was written in 1938, a year before Hitler marched into Poland. And Caligula is certainly Hitler, though the parallel is never obtrusive or didactic. Cherea, Caligula's admiring enemy, says:

> You can take arms against a vulgar tyrant, but cunning is needed to fight down disinterested malice. You can only urge it on to follow its bent, and bide your time until its logic founders in sheer lunacy . . . all I wish is to regain some peace of mind in a world that has regained a meaning. What spurs me on is not ambition but fear, my very reasonable fear of that inhuman vision in which my life means no more than a speck of dust.

But it is Caligula's humor I wish I could convey to the reader.

"Cross Purpose" is about a man who, having left his family very early in life, returns perversely to his death. He knows and he does *not* know what will happen to him. In a desolate nightmare country which is here called Bohemia, Jan, thirty-eight years old, travels to the inn kept by his mother and sister. They fail to recognize him, at first. He urges his young wife to let him spend the night at the inn alone. He is seeking his own inescapable doom. And he gets "what he wanted; he is with the woman he crossed the sea to find." All this could be exasperatingly *voulu,* but Camus's immense talent makes it wonderfully plausible, inevitable, and fatal, after the manner of Greek tragedy. The mother's and sister's occupation is that of murdering and robbing their guests in their wayside inn. Here, so to speak, Clytemnestra and Electra murder Orestes; no man has power or influence in this barren matriarchy; and even the old manservant (God) is helpless or has at any rate lost interest in the human race.

Camus has here created a style marvelously suited to the actor's voice, and capable of every variation. The subdued and horrible tension throughout the play is all the more emphatic when at the very end the wife appears to ask after the murdered Jan. She represents the outside world, and she is the only one who laments, weeps, and complains in an expected fashion. The others know their fate and the curse laid on their house, and submit to it in bitter but restrained rancor.

The weirdness and terror of ageless myth in "Cross Purpose" are all the more effective because no indication is given as to time. Nor as to place, actually; Bohemia, Limbo, Avernus. This play is as good as the best of Strindberg, and if Stuart Gilbert's excellent translation is ever used on the stage here it will be fun to go, if only to watch the audience fainting in their seats.

RENE BLANC-ROOS

Greece Today

REPORT ON THE GREEKS. Findings of a Twentieth Century Fund Team which Surveyed Conditions in Greece in 1947. By Frank Smothers, William Hardy McNeill, Elizabeth Darbishire McNeill. Twentieth Century Fund. $2.50.

SINCE the end of the war the United States has spent close to one billion dollars in Greece, a country of about the same population and area as the state of Illinois. The purpose of this expenditure, according to President Truman, has been to safeguard Greek independence and democracy from the Communist menace and to set the country on its feet economically. During the year and a half since the enunciation of the Truman Doctrine Greek economy has steadily deteriorated, Greek democracy has approached the vanishing-point, and the guerrillas have grown stronger and more dangerous, recent headlines to the contrary notwithstanding.

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Washington's explanation for this unhappy state of affairs is simple. The guerrillas, with the aid of the northern Balkan governments, are fomenting civil war and preventing political stability and economic recovery. This is only part of the story. The other is presented in this revealing and readable book—the report of a "team" of three investigators who visited Greece early in 1947 under the sponsorship of the Twentieth Century Fund.

The report first emphasizes the all-pervading fear throughout Greece and among all sections of the population—fear of right and left extremists within the country, and fear of possible Slavic invasion from the north. Underlying this fear, and to a considerable degree responsible for it, is the grinding poverty of the people. In the countryside the peasantry is being squeezed by the scarcity of good land and the lack of capital to buy fertilizer and machinery. Before the war the income of the average Greek farm family was little more than $200 per year, and today it is substantially less. In the cities industry is operating at far below the pre-war level, unemployment is widespread, wages are low, and relations between employers and employees bad. The average laborer does not earn enough to support himself, let alone his family. White-collar workers are no better off.

The report makes it clear that these conditions are due not only to poor natural resources and war devastation but also to the inertia and corruption of the post-liberation Greek governments.

> Evidence is lacking that the present government has even begun to grapple purposefully with its economic problems. . . . The government itself, with the exception of some individual Cabinet ministers, looks to the rich industrialists and profiteers, and to the hierarchy of the army as now constituted, as its prime domestic support. In return, it favors industrialists and merchants in taxation and fiscal policy (p. 74).

In conversations with leaders of the left and center parties the authors found a general desire for a peaceful settlement. This was to be achieved by forming either a coalition or a center government, granting a general amnesty, reforming the army, police, and civil service to make them servants of the state rather than of the royalist party, and holding new and fair elections. It should be kept in mind that this program was being advanced in the spring of 1947, when Britain was yielding its century-old primacy in Greece to the United States. The crucial question at that time was whether Washington would continue the original Churchill policy of maintaining a "safe" rightist government in Athens or whether an attempt would be made to broaden the government and work out a compromise solution along the lines indicated above. This report suggests that the latter policy would have received substantial support from non-rightist political leaders and would have had at least a possibility of success.

In the end, however, Marshall followed Bevin, just as Bevin had followed Churchill. The Liberal leader, Sophoulis, was persuaded to join the government, where he soon became, in his own words, a "captive liberal." The whole state apparatus remained an instrument of the right. The amnesty that was offered under such conditions was a meaningless gesture, and the sporadic clashes of rival armed bands inevitably developed into the present full-fledged civil war.

Various errors and misinterpretations reflect the authors' unfamiliarity with the language and with certain aspects of the subject. The names of some Greek political leaders and parties are given incorrectly. The account of British actions in occupied Greece might have been different if the authors had read the book of General Saraphis. The section on Historical and Foreign Influences is superficial and misleading in exaggerating the influence of the West and misinterpreting and underestimating modern Greek culture.

Despite these shortcomings, the report is interesting, valuable, and comprehensive. In addition to the analysis of economic and political conditions, there are chapters on population, health, everyday life, education, the church, and the guerrillas. The last is based on a visit to a guerrilla hideout in central Greece, and is revealing in the light of current developments. The authors have carried out their assignment well, and their report is by all odds the best available account of Greece today.

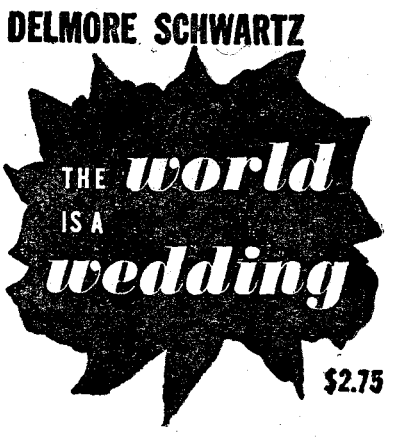
L. S. STAVRIANOS

Personal History

STALIN AND GERMAN COMMUNISM. By Ruth Fischer. Harvard University Press. $8.

CONTRARY to a common belief the eyewitness is rarely an accurate witness. His testimony must be treated with caution, especially when he is reporting on a historical catastrophe in which his whole being and his whole life are involved. This is the case with Ruth Fischer, the author of these six hundred pages on the rise of Stalinism.

In Vienna, toward the end of World War I, Ruth Fischer, as a spirited young girl, was drawn, like her two brothers, Gerhard and Hans Eisler, into politics, body and soul. She became charter member number one of the Communist Party of Austria. It was soon held in check by the Austro-Marxists, and consequently offered few opportunities to an ambitious young woman adverse to living in the cold shadow of Otto Bauer. She moved to Germany, married



TIME: "With these stories, Poet Delmore Schwartz should take his place among the dozen or so most accomplished young U. S. writers. The two longest pieces will suffer no disgrace by comparison with Chekov or Stendhal."

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into German citizenship, and rose quickly to high positions in both the German Communist Party and the Third International. She was elected chairman of the important Berlin organization, member of the Central Committee, General Secretary, member of the Reichstag and of the Presidium of the Comintern—a really remarkable career for a young woman from the Austrian bourgeoisie. It was, however, as shortlived as it had been meteoric. In 1926 Ruth Fischer was expelled from the party.

Being, unlike Trotzky, neither a writer by nature nor a historian, but a political agitator turned writer for want of activity, Ruth Fischer is at a disadvantage in attempting a complex literary work combining reminiscence, history, and political analysis. The reader who, like this reviewer, has great respect for her experience and her suffering, and therefore is intent on discovering what she has to offer, soon finds himself entangled in a maze of details and hair-splitting Marxian double-talk that appear increasingly repetitious if not irrelevant. A simpler but deeper understanding is missing; no real answer to the "why" of the development which she reports is forthcoming.

The emotional limitations of the work manifest themselves mainly in its earlier parts, which deal with the years when Ruth Fischer was a Communist Party functionary engaged in a bitter and pitiless struggle for power within the party. After so many fateful years, which have dwarfed bad deeds no less than good ones, she ought to speak with more justice and a grain of humility of her predecessors in the party leadership. Paul Levi, Reuter, Brandler, and Thalheimer, whatever their faults, had more understanding of the possibilities of a German revolution than she and her friends; they realized long before she did that the Russification of the various Communist parties, the subordination of the left labor movement everywhere to the *Diktat* of the Russian Foreign Office, meant corruption, disintegration, and defeat—with Hitler as the victor. Not that she can be blamed for having kept faith and hope for a few years longer—but her lack of self-criticism and a certain self-righteousness hamper her in her present task. Her version of the decisive events in the development of communism in Germany and of the Third International up to her expulsion remains, in spite of many interesting details, vague and misleading. She does not admit that she too, while "in power," was but a Moscow tool. Quite naturally she was duly slandered and discarded when Stalin found in Thaelmann a more docile Gauleiter.

Of course, what for so many believers had been incomprehensible during the twenties appears obvious today—that the Russians were gambling with the German revolution while simultaneously making overtures to the German militarists—although Rosa Luxemburg had sensed what was coming, and Paul Levi and others had learned it from bitter experience. When the gamble failed—it cost Moscow nothing, German workers paid for it—the stage was set for Stalin. Lenin's contention that the avant-garde Bolshevik Party would perish if the European revolution did not materialize came true. The Bolsheviks did perish. Stalin and his State party replaced them, and the new edition of Russian nationalism came into being which uses the Red Flag as a convenient symbol for attracting allies.

Ruth Fischer gives an excellent, well-documented account of the means and methods—bribery, abuse of ideals, murder—which Stalin employed in subduing the Russian, the German, and all the other Communist parties, the same methods with which he has been subduing country after country since the war. Writing with more resentment than insight, she seems, however, not to see that by way of Stalin the backwardness of Russia and Asia is invading the West as it has repeatedly done before when the West was divided. In both methods and aspirations Stalin is continuing the expansive imperialist politics of the czars. Hence it makes little sense to think of him as a traitor to the working class: his betrayals take place merely on the propaganda level. Taking him for what he really is, the dictator of a Russia in the throes of industrialization—a hundred years after the industrialization of England—his actions become understandable. Only if one thinks of him as an international humanist is one confronted with irreconcilable contradictions.

Ruth Fischer modestly labels her work "A Study in the Origins of the State Party," and she points out how much all the other dictators, especially Hitler, have learned from Stalin. But she also feels that merely to expose Stalin's tricks would be insufficient. She tries to give her work a wider scope; yet being unable to make a clean sweep of the illusions and delusions of her youth, she remains less effective on this score than need be. The aging survivors of the great idealistic movement after World War I must give to the idealists coming out of World War II more relevant and more precise accounts of their experiences. World War III may render their reports obsolete but only in a narrow sense. To speak the whole truth—what other task is more honorable, of more enduring value, or more difficult?

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Fiction in Review

ALTHOUGH by any firm literary standards Irwin Shaw's "The Young Lions" (Random House, $3.95) is not an arresting performance, I found it a good deal more interesting than either his plays or his much-admired short stories. Indeed, ordinary technical gifts aside, it seems to me to be his first work to carry any significant promise for the future. The advance may be due simply to the fact that the loose structure of the novel gives Mr. Shaw more room to move around in than does the strict short-story form or the play. Or it may be only that the author, having grown more mature, is more capable of seeing the world complexly. But I suspect that neither of these is the real explanation of the new quality that appears, however submerged, in Mr. Shaw's present book—that, rather, what we have here is an initial demonstration of a change that will be increasingly urged upon liberals and liberal fiction. Mr. Shaw has throughout his career been a clear spokesman of his well-meaning generation. When liberalism took its boldest stand on a hatred of war, Mr. Shaw raised the bones of the war dead. When liberalism had had its surfeit of quietism, Mr. Shaw issued the call to action. When resistance mobilized, Mr. Shaw was in the forefront of the celebrants of the fighting democratic spirit. When the open enemy of fascism abroad had been conquered, Mr. Shaw was quick to name the lurking enemies of democracy within our walls. As an artist he has been an exemplary citizen—devoted, energetic, too intelligent to be too pious yet too pious to be disturbing, his talents as a writer beautifully tuned to the intellectual pitch of his society. But at last, after its long period of sounding on one note—the note of political decency—this society gives signs of having to recognize the existence of a much fuller scale of human motives and values. Did decency alone win the war, and, if so, why is it not able to win the peace? What is the tension that, in our own country, holds the forces of good and evil in such delicate equilibrium? The more such questions press themselves upon the liberal citizen, moving him to free himself from the easy formulations to which he has been in bondage in recent years, the more the liberal artist is also freed for his original job as explorer of the complexities.

This is the new freedom that now appears, if only by hints, in Mr. Shaw's novel. Actually, there is but a single whole chapter in "The Young Lions" which is truly novelistic in the sense of blending the familiar and the surprising in human character in such a way as to enlarge our notion of life's possibilities—the chapter, early in the book, which describes the death of a rascally old Jew; and no doubt our pleasure in the scene at Ackerman's deathbed is increased by our relief that a writer who has always been so solemn about the problem of anti-Semitism can handle a highly ambiguous Jewish character so lightly. For the rest, Mr. Shaw's new impulse to exploration is as yet largely an undeveloped element in his narrative. The familiar and the surprising, in "The Young Lions," are not so much blended as introduced side by side, and the familiar is still all too often the cliché.

"The Young Lions" is a war novel with three main characters, one German and two Americans. The German is Christian Diestl, an ordinary, normal, attractive young man corrupted by a system to which he has given himself in idealism; the Americans are Noah Ackerman, a lonely Jewish youngster, and Whitacre, a semi-intellectual connected with the theater, both of whom improve their moral destinies in service of a system which, whatever its faults, is basically worthy of their commitment to it. None of Mr. Shaw's three chief figures is particularly commanding, nor is his comparative study in social determinism finally rewarding. Diestl, the author's most ambitious portrait, instead of developing as a coherent individual turns out to be little more than half Hollywood hero and half Hollywood monster; Noah, for all his innocent appeal at the start of the story, is merely a stock American soldier at its end; Whitacre is much more admired by Mr. Shaw than he deserves to be; and the contrast between the two social systems, the Nazi and the democratic, proceeds by insights that have been available to fiction for well over a decade. The fact that, despite this much of the dull or obvious, "The Young Lions" is interesting at all must be wholly ascribed, I think, to the little twists and complications that Mr. Shaw works into his main outlines of plot and character-drawing—the débâcle, for example, of Noah's attempt to win the respect of his campmates by proving that a Jew is not afraid to fight; or Whitacre's unexpectedly ill-humored response to Noah's first effort at alliance; or Mr. Shaw's understated demonstration of the necessity of a man's staying with a company where he has friends; or the motivation for Christian's betrayal of an old comrade who deserts in Paris. There are any number of such small moments which indicate that somewhere within him Mr. Shaw has the novelist's power—if he but has the courage fully to release it—to overturn the conventions of truth and dig up a few of the real facts about people and the societies they create. For it of course still takes great courage as well as taste, whatever the pressure of complexity from the world around us, to throw off the soothing oversimplifications that have passed for thinking among liberals and stop writing sentences like the following: "Are these the people, created in greatness by the

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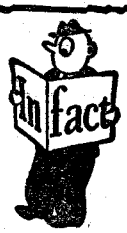

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work of Jefferson and Franklin . . . are these the bitter farmers and hunters and craftsmen who came out of the wilderness, furious for liberty and justice, is this the new world of giants sung by Whitman?" To Mr. Shaw's credit it must be reported of his novel that it has only a few passages as bad as this. But even a few are disastrously too many.

DIANA TRILLING

Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

THE announcement that Groucho Marx had written—or at least helped to write—a comedy must have raised high hopes in other breasts besides mine. He is a mythological figure as mysterious as Til Eulenspiegel or Mr. Punch. One could not have been more surprised to hear that Mickey Mouse had turned author. What quips and cranks, what wild waggeries might one not legitimately expect?

Even by those who know him as a man rather than a myth, Groucho is said to be a fellow of infinite and unexpected jest. A bad play from his pen would be bound, it seemed, to be at least bad in some strange and probably delightful way. Who could possibly have supposed that he could turn out what looks like the work of some weary hack and so closely resembles countless other plays that it is difficult to believe one has not seen it before? Yet that is no unfair description of "Time for Elizabeth." Norman Krasna, the co-author, has previously been responsible for two lively if mechanical farces, and I suppose it is his hand alone of which one sees traces. But even he is very far from being at his best, and Mr. Marx seems only to have slowed him down.

The "problem" with which the comedy professes to deal is that of the harassed business executive who decides to retire and to get away from it all. No doubt something original, or at least something true, could be said on this subject, but the authors have chosen to treat it exclusively in terms of the most familiar fictional clichés. Act I shows the hero bullied beyond endurance by the big boss and reaches its climax when, in the inevitable scene, he tells the big boss where to get off. Act II is devoted to the disillusionments of a Florida apartment into which wander comic-strip neighbors who disapprove of drinking, don't know how to play bridge, and try to sell burial lots. Act III is taken up with the arrival, just at the moment when everything seems darkest, of the big boss, who now realizes that he can't make washing-machines without the man he kicked out at the end of Act I. Shades of Winchell Smith! This conclusion has been inevitable from the moment the opening situation was stated, and every turn of the plot can be anticipated at least ten minutes before it occurs. Oddest of all, perhaps, is the fact that the dialogue is almost completely devoid of lines funny even in intention.

What, however, the present writer finds still harder to forgive is what he regards as the treachery of the more famous of the two authors. Groucho has always been an almost terrifyingly anarchical figure. He seems to stand as one of the embodiments of the eternal Spirit Which Denies. Can it possibly be that when he takes off his cork mustache he is only a very ordinary citizen devoted to sentimental platitudes and to the crassest possible convictions concerning what constitutes success in life? I do not believe that this is what he is really like, but I am sorry that he made it possible even to ask the question. He has no business flattering anyone's prejudices, least of all those of the tired business man of a generation ago. Does he not know that even in popular literature the business man as hero and commercial success as an ideal went out years ago? Hasn't he read "The Hucksters" or seen "Allegro"?

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

MOZART'S Piano Quartet in G minor (K. 478) has been recorded for Columbia by George Szell and Messrs. Roismann, Kroyt, and Schneider of the Budapest Quartet (Set 773, $4.75). The work is not one of Mozart's greatest, but has its wonderful moments; the warmth, grace, and sensitiveness of the string playing are in striking contrast with the cold, brittle rattling off of the piano part; and Columbia's contribution is several different varieties of badly reproduced sound.

From Mercury comes a set (DM-3, $6.55) with some of the different varieties of bad music that Shostakovitch is capable of—in his String Quartet Opus 73, recorded by the Fine Arts Quartet of the American Broadcasting Company, the group which broadcasts from Chicago Sunday mornings at 11 for the A. B. C. network outside of New York. It plays well; and the performance is reproduced with a live distinctness that is excessively and unpleasantly sharp.

Mercury also has issued a set (DM-23, $3.93) of Tchaikovsky's Overture "1812" recorded by Mengelberg with the Amsterdam Concertgebouw Orchestra in 1942 for Telefunken (now acquired by Czechoslovakia). It has provided an opportunity to confirm my recollection that the work has some fine

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things along with its climactic vulgarities, and also my recollection of Mengelberg's fussing and underscoring. And it also has provided a yardstick for measuring the achievement of London Decca. Except for occasional defects like the faintness of the solo woodwinds on the first side, the poor monitoring of the beginning of the *fff* passages for bassoons, cellos, and basses a minute later (and surfaces are very noisy), the Telefunken recording is impressive, producing a rich over-all sound and enormous sonorities at the end. But it is reduced to insignificance by the Decca recording of the same orchestra's performance of Berlioz's "Fantastic" Symphony under Van Beinum.

I compared this recording of the "Fantastic" with the RCA Victor recording of Monteux's performance with the San Francisco Symphony when I got back to New York, and found, as I had remembered, that the RCA Victor produced a rich sonority in which was submerged much of the detail reproduced with marvelous distinctness by the Decca. Moreover the Victor reproduced the playing of a decidedly less-than-first-rate orchestra, whereas what the Decca reproduced with such clarity and refinement of beautiful sound was playing of extraordinary finish and sensitiveness by an orchestra whose personnel and discipline made it one of the world's greatest. And, as someone remarked, it was an astonishing paradox that a French conductor should be producing the lush sound, and a Dutch conductor and orchestra the light, transparent one.

I also listened again to the Columbia recording of the Budapest Quartet's performance of Beethoven's Opus 18 No. 6, and found that on my wide-range machine it produced an even shriller and sharper sound than on the limited-range machine on which I had played it in the country. And, finally, I compared the English Decca recording of Debussy's "Iberia" made by Münch and the Paris Conservatory Concerts Orchestra with the Columbia recording made by Reiner and the Pittsburgh Symphony, and found that neither performance is good but Münch's handling of the second and third movements makes his by far the worse performance of the two, and that his is reproduced with more beauty and clarity but the Reiner is reproduced not at all badly.

Letters to the Editors

Rebuilding Japan: Fears and Realities

Dear Sirs: Harold Strauss's rebuttal [in *The Nation,* August 21] of my analysis of Japan's economic dilemma is predicated upon the assumption that any attempt to rehabilitate Japanese industry and trade is morally reprehensible because it would be detrimental to the interests of the nations of Asia. This is an argument which echoes some of the understandable fears voiced repeatedly not only by the Chinese but by the press of the other countries which have suffered at the hands of the Japanese militarists, but it is nevertheless an argument which disregards the fundamental realities of Far Eastern economy.

It is well to bear in mind that the socio-economic structure of the whole of Asia is chiefly pre-industrial and that the rate of recovery of the war-shattered Philippines and of strife-torn China and India and the other nations on the continent will be paced by their ability to obtain imports of machinery and equipment in sufficient quantity to develop their natural resources, and of light manufactures to raise the standard of living of their populations. Japan's geographical position, combined with technical know-how and a sizable industrial plant capable of rehabilitation and conversion to peaceful requirements, makes it the most logical and the cheapest source of supply. The presence here in Tokyo of trade missions from India, China, Siam, and the Philippines is an indication that although still cautious, still suspicious, these countries are becoming increasingly aware of the advantage of trading with a defeated and disarmed Japan.

Mr. Strauss would seem to have forgotten that the tables have been turned: stripped of military power, the Japanese are in no position to drive hard bargains—they have assumed the role of petitioners instead of aggressors. The fact that they are unable to produce enough food to supply their needs and are now powerless to obtain it by force underscores the subservience of Japan's economy to the economy of other Asiatic areas richer in natural resources. It is difficult to see how this dependence,

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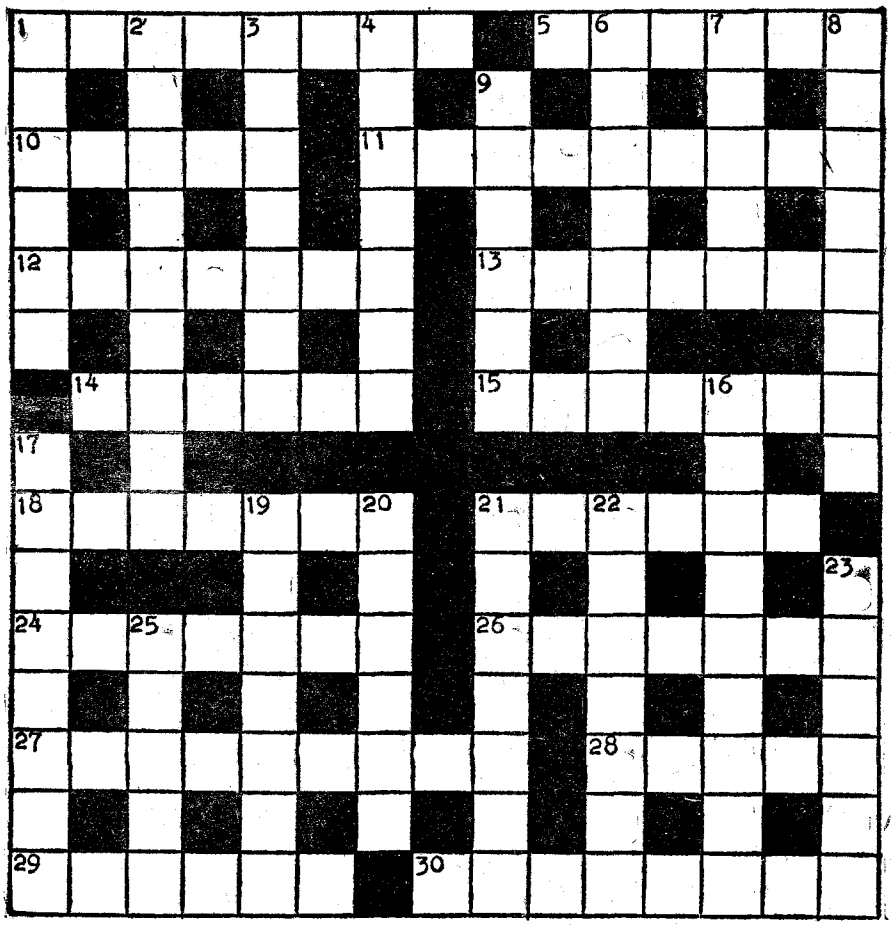
Crossword Puzzle No. 282

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1, 17, and 10 Not necessarily the House of Morgan. (3, 5, 4, 4, 5)
5 Such a vial as belongs in the mint. (6)
10 See 1 across.
11 Get the animal out of the road, I'm all upset! (9)
12 Is found in the midst of downpours, though comparatively dry. (7)
13, 28 Proverbial spoilers. (3, 4, 5)
14 How the Senate gets worsted. (6)
15 No time to get together! (4, 3)
18 Cultivate dessert? It's O. K. with all but four of 19. (7)
21 Has sat in the third highest position in the country. (6)
24 The long and short of it. (7)
26 Not necessarily a Yankee blow. (7)
27 A gentleman's is novel, but not necessarily perfect. (9)
28 See 13.
29 What the man referred to by 30 did. (6)
30 and 6 Descriptive of the man who was married in 1 across. (8, 3, 4)

DOWN

1 Bad art associated with the beginning of a tell-tale ride. (6)
2 Remove a sort of Line-a-time. (9)
3 The skinny side of an animal. (7)
4 A candidate who lost, sat in a cape wrong-end-to. (7)
6 See 30.
7 Home of a bandit chieftain. (5)
8 Coals, yet subordinate ones. (8)
9 Strikes find it in a bad sort of mess. (6)
16 This is opened at either end. (5, 4)
17 See 1 across.
19 Get this, and you can then get 18. (7)
20 The answer to this is armadillo. (6)
21 How to make a singer out of a sort of artisan. (7)
22 A tropic fruit. (7)
23 How a deer's taken out. (6)
25 Iris florentina. (5)

—⊕—

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 281

ACROSS:—1 DECAMP; 10 NORTH POLE; 11 LAUDS; 12 TORNADO; 13 and 5 LEATHER-COVERED; 14 DEBIT; 16 IMPLEMENT; 18 BEEFEATER; 20 MINOR; 22 SIZABLE; 24 GIRASOL; 26 UMBER; 27 VORACIOUS; 28 and 29 HOBSON'S CHOICE.

DOWN:—2 ERROR; 3 ATHWART; 4 PROSODIST; 5 CREEL; 6 VULGATE; 7 ROUGHHEWN; 8 DESERET; 9 UNITED; 15 BEELZEBUB; 17 PAREGORIC; 18 BISMUTH; 19 EMBARGO; 20 MOROCCO; 21 RELISH; 23 ELVES; 25 STOIC

instead of supporting, could interfere with the efforts toward economic self-determination of the nations in these areas.

By what criteria is the recognition of the need for an exchange and pooling of resources politically suspect and amoral? Is it necessary to point out that the basic fallacy of the doctrine of geographic determinism used by the Japanese militarists to justify aggression was precisely its denial of the concept of economic interdependence? The Zaibatsu and the militarists wanted dominance of the Far East, not free trade; to confuse their argument with the conclusion drawn in my article is dangerous shortsightedness. It is dangerous because we cannot overlook the facts that the roots of fascism everywhere are economic as well as political and that both Mussolini and the Japanese militarists used the pretext that small nations poor in resources could only obtain vitally needed raw materials and food by force in order to enlist popular support for their aggressive policies. It is dangerous because unless we make an attempt to alleviate the internal pressures of the Japanese economy, we cannot hope to create conditions which would preclude the revival of militarism or the emergence of other extreme philosophies.

I have no quarrel with the alternative solutions advocated by Mr. Strauss: a world-wide campaign against immigration barriers and an extensive program of birth control for Japan. However, there is an unfortunate and tremendous gap between admirable goals and the limitations of time and reality. I am not as sanguine as Mr. Strauss seems to be on the prospect of universal acceptance of an enlightened immigration policy in the foreseeable future. And it is relevant to point out once more that despite the fact that birth control was practiced in the twenties (as it is today for that matter), the population of Japan increased from 55,000,000 in 1920 to 63,000,000 in 1930, and that no country in the world has yet embarked on a rational demographic program. It would be truly remarkable if one were developed in Japan, where the social sciences are in their infancy and where the scientific method itself has been only sporadically applied.

YOLE GRANADA

Tokyo, September 3

[*Yole Granada is the author of the article Should We Rebuild Japan? which appeared in* The Nation *of August 14.*]

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STATE OF NEW YORK } SS.
COUNTY OF NEW YORK }

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Hugo Van Arx, who having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the business manager of The Nation, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Acts of March 3, 1933, and July 2, 1946 (Section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations), to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, The Nation Associates, Inc.,
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20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Managing Editor, None.

Business Manager, Hugo Van Arx,
20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

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5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the twelve months preceding the date shown above is 37,932.

HUGO VAN ARX,
Signature of Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 22nd day of September, 1948.
[SEAL]

TERESITA GRANT,
Notary Public, King's Co. No. 704
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My commission expires March 30, 1949.

Molloy, Not Malloy

Dear Sirs: In your issue of September 25 there is a review by Mildred Adams of the new edition of "Doña Barbara," by Romulo Gallegos. I wish to point out that the translator is Robert Molloy—not Malloy. The fault is not yours, as the original publisher did not take the trouble to get the name right, and the new edition only perpetuates the error. Robert Molloy is the author of "Pride's Way" and other books. Translators are so often the victims of neglect in this country that I think it would be good of you to make a note of this.

WILLIAM MCFEE

New York, September 24

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Richmond, Va., September 20

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A. J. DAVIDSON

Ilford, England, September 8

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